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ABSTRACT

The following conference papers are included here: (1) "Language Typology and Contrastive Linguistics," by Laszlo Dezso and William Nemser, summarizes the history of typology and discusses the application of typology to research on language acquisition. (2) "Contrastive Aspects of British and American English with Implications for Hungarian Learners of English," by Eva Diosy-Stephanides, contrasts vowel sounds, considering constant and variable differences, distributional differences, and stress and rhythm. (3) "Interrogative Sentences in English: A Language-Teaching Problem for Hungarians," by Adam Nadasdy, points out that because in Hungarian partial questions differ basically from total questions, total and partial questions should be dealt with separately when English is taught to Hungarians. (4) "A Contrastive Analysis of English and Hungarian Textbooks of English," by Eva A. Stephanides, describes the texts; compares presentations of English phonology; deals with English nominal and verbal categories; and treats sentence word order, clauses, gerunds and participles. (CHK)

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THE HUNGARIAN-ENGLISH
CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS PROJECT

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Four Papers of the Pécs Conference on Contrastive Linguistics

(Pécs, 14-16 October 1971)

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THE HUNGARIAN-ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE LIGUISTICS PROJECT

Working Papers

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The Hungarian-English Contrastive Linguistics Project is jointly administered by the Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Center for Applied Linguistics of Washington, D. C. The Project is jointly supported by the Ford Foundation and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

The major research objective of the Project is the systematic large-scale investigation of differences and similarities between the Hungarian and English languages with implications for the acquisition of English by Hungarians and the acquisition of Hungarian by speakers of English.

The Project publication, Working Papers, makes available research results, theoretical studies, progress reports, sample pedagogical materials and other materials relevant to Project objectives.

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Language typology and contrastive linguistics

László Dezső and *William Nemser*

1. *Language typology*[1]

1.1 Handbooks customarily describe language typology by contrast with historical comparative linguistics as the linguistic subdiscipline which compares languages independently of their genetic relationships. While this common definition is not misleading, it inadequately specifies the scope of those principles and rules which are studied by typology. It is the task of typology to examine the *typological rules* governing specific language types, and the *universal principles* valid for all languages. Research on rules specific to individual languages, on the contrary, belongs to descriptive linguistics. Since such typological rules and universal principles operate in every language, they provide an optimal starting-point for ascertaining both the common characteristics of languages and their contrasting features. The system of principles and typological rules forms a network which unites individual languages while at the same time revealing their typological characteristics. Such rules provide the common basis which alone permits the contrastive analysis of languages, while at the same time allowing for individual variation among these languages. The typological rules also specify the universal characteristics of language which are manifested in individual language systems. Thus these rules are presupposed by both the „confrontative" and „characterological" conceptions of contrastive linguistics (see Zabrocki 1970 and Mathesius 1936).

The relationship between language typology and linguistic theory must also be clarified. This task is more complicated because it involves the problem of the definition of linguistic theory and that of the epistemological status of typology. If linguistic theory is identified with formal theory, typology lies outside the framework of linguistic theory, apart from a limited number of formalized substantive universals, since the majority of its principles and rules have not yet been formalized. On the other hand, if

[1] A general description of this field of contrastive linguistics including reference to the history of the discipline and the state-of-the-art is found in William Nemser and Tatiana Slama-Cazacu (1970) and in William Nemser (1972). A more detailed presentation of the problems of typology will appear in L. Dezső, „Typology and contrastive linguistics," in *Current Trends in The Language Sciences: Constrastive Linguistics*, ed. W. Nemser (forthcoming).

linguistic theory is interpreted as containing both formalized and non-formalized components, typology as a whole belongs to linguistic theory, and with the advance of research in the field, as its rules and principles are more precisely defined, it will achieve formalization as well.

Certain universal linguistic structures (e.g. sentences, nominal groups), and certain universal elements of these structures (e.g. verbs, nouns) can be found in every language. Certain universally valid relations between the substructures of a complex language structure, and between different structures, can also be observed. The latter are the „implicational universals" identified by Greenberg (1963). An example is the rule that if the basic word order in a language is S(ubject) V(erb) O(bject), the alternative order, if there is one, is OVS (Greenberg 1963:63). Such implicational universals are limited to languages of a given type, in the cited case those in which the basic word order is SOV, but within this domain the rule is universal, holding without exception. The great majority of implicational universals presuppose typological structures and define the relationships among them. The cited example illustrates a simple relationship, but more complex ones exist as well.

Consideration of implicational universals leads to another problem in typology: that of *type*. The analysis of types is a task of high current interest in typology. In the hierarchy of rules the place of language type falls between that of universal principles and that of individual rules. These rules of type may form a typological structure, i.e. an interrelated set of rules to illustrate with the example cited above: a structure of the so-called SOV word order type is formed by two sets of rules, that of the SOV basic word order, and that of the OSV contextual word order, in languages with bound word order such as Mongolian.

To date, typology has only succeeded in revealing rules of type which relate language substructures (sentence word order, case systems, nominal groups, etc.). However the interrelations between such typological structures must also be discovered. Skalička (1958:23) has attempted such an examination of the agglutinative language type taking the typical characteristics of several substructures into account. Such attempts could lead to the establishment of complex types, that is to generalization at the level of sociological categorization (e.g. feudal, capitalist and socialist societal types).

1.2 It is also customary to draw parallels between the history of typology and that of historical comparative linguistics since these fields are of similar age, both having developed at the beginning of the last century. The identification of morphological types is considered to have inaugurated research in the field of typology; however typology proper dates from the work of Humboldt. With him a new period began in the development of linguistic theory, one in which language typology assumed its proper place within the framework

of the theory for the first and, to date, the last time. Humboldt established important theoretical principles, and designated basic research tasks, one of which was examination of the relationship between societal and linguistic development with reference to the typological characteristics of language. These problems remain unresolved, and conditions within linguistics and epistemology were even less favorable for their solution in the middle of the nineteenth century. The proposed theory clearly revealed the weaknesses of contemporary science: the simplified correlation which it offered between morphological type on the one hand, and social and psychological evolution on the other, still survives today in a vulgarized form. According to this theory, agglutinative languages reflect an early stage of social-psychological development, and speakers of such languages – even according to their well-wishers – face serious difficulties in constructing a viable culture and society. A second vulgarized response to the Humboldtian problem was offered by the theory of Marr. Both theories have had significant negative results, the analysis of which, however, is not our present task.

The present position of typology on the periphery of linguistics is usually explained by reference to these circumstances in the development of the field. However this explanation is only partly valid. For many scholars interested in typology, such as Winkler (1887), and Misteli (1893), the correlation of morphological types with societal characterictics has less importance and they were much more interested in discovering the typological rules of language structure. Reasons for this concern are of a general epistemological nature. Interest in the solution of typological problems was closely connected with general theoretical and methodological developments within linguistics. These developments were reflected in typology in magnified form or, in any case, to a far greater extent than in studies of individual and genetically-related languages. However, the theoretical and methodological evolution of linguistics had not, at that time, attained the requisite level for theoretical typological studies. Even today such studies face serious difficulties. Obviously, moreover, there are problems internal to the field of typology as well, and these are our principal concern here.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, along with morphological typology, the beginnings of syntactic typology can be found in the work of Misteli and Winkler. However study was largely confined to those syntactic problems related to morphological questions, in particular, problems of case. The elaboration of case typology was the achievement of Hjelmslev (1935) and Jakobson (1936) in the present century. It is not accidental that two renowned representatives of European structuralism contributed these significant insights into typology.

The specific problems of syntatic typology are treated in Greenberg's

analysis of word-order universals (1963). The development of his formulation bears a strict relationship to that of syntactic theory, and its incorporation within such theory is a problem currently awaiting solution. Greenberg's quantitative indices (1960), employing a number of morphological and derivational parameters calibrated by reference to ideal types, represent a significant advance in morphological typology over Sapir's earlier highly complex classification scheme (1921). Quantitative typology represents the highest level in the empirical classification of typological facts. The conceptual task which must now be undertaken in the creation of a theoretical framework for typology. A related requirement is the epistemological comparison of type in linguistics and in other social sciences as general sociology and general psychology.

The typological investigation of Hungarian as an agglutinative language was conducted by scholars during the last century. However the first detailed typological characterization of the language was the accomplishment of the well-known Praguean linguist, V.Skalička (1935).

This survey of the history of typology could not aim at even relative completeness. Grammatical typology was only touched upon, and phonology was not even mentioned despite significant achievements in that field (see e.g. Jakobson 1941). The survey has brought us to the sixties, and exposition of current problems. Discussion of on-going research in general typology is rendered difficult by the lack of regular forums in the field, including periodicals and regularly scheduled conferences, and also by the fact that most research is conducted on an individual rather than coordinated basis. In almost every Central and East European nation such research is in progress. Noteworthy is the work of typologists in Moscow and Leningrad: the former group, including Uspensky (1968) and Rožděstvenskij (1969) has, attained significant results in the area of morphology, and the latter group, led by Cholodovič, in the area of syntax (Cholodovič 1969). Scholars are also actively engaged in typological research at several academic institutions in the United States, including Stanford University where the research team is directed by Greenberg and Ferguson (see Working Papers on Language Universals).

With general typological research, one must also take account of on-going typological investigation of languages forming genetic groups (see Ružicka 1963), as well as areal groups (Dezső 1970). Emphasis at present is placed on the formulation of universal and typological rules governing certain linguistic substructures, such as passives, causatives, etc. However such research inevitably raises general typological questions, and contributes to their elucidation. Primary attention has been accorded the synchronic state of languages with the result that questions relating to the diachronic mutation of language types has been, perhaps over-zealously, relegated to the background.

2. *Typology and language acquisition*

2.1 Utilization of a typological approach to the linguistic problems of constrastive linguistics is not new, and is becoming more widespread. One of the earliest attempts to define the scope and methodology of the field of contrastive linguistics, Mathesius's discussion of „linguistic characterology" (1936), can be regarded as a typologically-based formulation. The importance of the typological approach is stressed by Zabrocki (1970), who advocates a distinction between „typological confrontative linguistics" on the one hand, and constrastive linguistics on the other, the latter representing the mere application of the former. Moreover the procedures of traditional contrastive linguistics are clearly, although implicitly, based on typological presuppositions.

It is sometimes erroneously assumed that utilization of the fairly intricate system of general typological rules would unnecessarily overcomplicate the procedure of contrastive analysis. In reality the opposite is true. Contrasting two languages requires only selected relevant rules, and a well-constructed typological system offers a hierarchy of rules and principles ranked according to scope, and determines their relevant combinations, thus providing a reliable framework for the analysis, and one yielding clear-cut description. The utilization of such rules is obviously more efficient than the random selection and comparison of elements in the two languages.

Consider the comparison of word-order patterns in two languages with free word-order, like Russian and Hungarian. Universal and typological rules provide a means of ordering the different word-order configurations in the two languages, and hence a means of contrasting them efficiently. Without the use of typology, however, constrastive analysis would yield a multitude of accidental comparisons since numerous permutations are possible in each language, and their numbers are multiplied when languages are compared. However this is not to claim, of course, that the application of typology reduces the contrastive description of complex structures to a simple procedure. A few words are relevant here about the limitations of typological description, and those constraining its application to contrastive linguistics.

At its present stage of development, typology cannot yet offer an integrated typological description of language substructures. The claim has been made that implicational connections between typological rules governing different substructures can be specified. However the detailed demonstration of this thesis (as in an elaboration of ideas set forth in the work of Skalička) is still awaited. Moreover, even a synchronic typology relating language substructures could only provide an optimal basis for the description and comparison of base and target language substructures, still leaving open the question

of the optimal acquisitional route between the languages for the language learner. On this question dynamic typology, which deals with laws governing the diachronic change in the substructures of language, may shed some light. For example, when analyzing the historical shift in the word-order characteristics of Slavic languages from type SOV to type SVO, we observe that the change first affected the basic word-order pattern, and only then, as a second step, the contextual word-order patterns. This order of priority is apparently universal, a fact with possible application to language pedagogy. It suggests the hypothesis – worthy of investigation – that the basic word-order pattern of the target language should be introduced first, and should be stressed, to provide a basis for the acquisition of the contextual patterns. Obviously the practical implementation of this simple notion is less simple in the case of target languages like Hungarian which have two basic word-order types, SOV and SVO, depending on the grammatical relationships among the elements:

SOV: *Péter levelet ír.* 'Peter is writing a letter.'

SVO: *Péter írja a levelet.* 'Peter is writing the letter.'

At the same time it is clear that knowledge of the rules governing change in natural language cannot provide adequate information for understanding the process of language acquisition. As regards the changes which occur during the history of natural languages, at present we are limited to the diachronic typological description of individual substructures, without reference to their relationships to other substructures, an inadequate basis for a theory of language acquisition. However even if our knowledge of diachronic rules were more complete it would be difficult to formulate predictions on this basis regarding the acquisitional process. Transition between historical stages in the course of language change cannot be identified with a learner's transition from one learning stage to the next in a passage from the base toward the target system during language acquisition. That is, the evolutionary development of the learner's approximative system is equatable with the process of change in natural languages only to a limited extent although, within these limits, certain laws governing typological change may reasonably be assumed to apply to the development of approximative systems as well (see 3.2. below). Taking these facts into account, it is clear that even diachronic typology cannot furnish an adequate basis for formulating the typological component of language acquisition.

2.2. The foregoing should not imply an underestimation of the possible applicability of typology to research on foreign language acquisition. On the contrary it seems likely that in the course of its development as a scientific

discipline, language typology, like many older theoretical fields, will create new and unanticipated opportunities for application. Our concern is now to examine the possibilities and preconditions for its future application in the field of foreign language acquisition.

It should first be pointed out that the applicability of typology obviously depends on the conditions under which the acquisitional process occurs, among them whether it is a guided process or not, whether it occurs in a geographical area in which the base language, the target language, or both are spoken, and so on. The present study is primarily concerned with the situation in which the language acquisition is guided by a teacher and takes place in an area where the base language is spoken.

Next, the typological content of the learner's knowledge of both the base and target languages must be assessed. He knows implicitly the rules of his mother tongue (normally the principal base language), and some of these rules explicitly as well. On this basis he must internalize the rules of the target language, which are usually presented in both implicit and explicit form. From a typological viewpoint, the learner is familiar with both universal rules and those typological rules operant in the base language. However, just as universal rules must be supplemented by typological rules, so the latter must be supplemented by language-specific rules. For example, a universal rule states that in languages with free word-order, like Russian and Hungarian, where the referent of the grammatical object has been mentioned earlier, the object is in first position in the sentence. Supplementary typological rules then state that the object is followed by the verb and the nominal subject in that order in Russian, but by the subject and then the verb in Hungarian. Finally language-specific rules must also be applied, stating that in both languages a pronominal subject directly follows the object, a case in which individual rules coincide despite divergencies between typological rules.

Concerning universals it must also be noted that important differences distinguish first and foreign language acquisition. A child may acquire both universal and typological rules in the course of learning his first language. (More detailed consideration of this question would lead to the problem of the „innatism" hypothesis and beyond the scope of the present study.) The question as to what a foreign language learner must acquire can be simplistically answered as follows: he learns the typological and individual (i.e. language-specific) rules occuring in the target but not the base language. This is essentially the response offered by „transfer grammar" (see Harris 1954 and Schachter 1960; also see 3.1 below). However for several reasons it is hardly satisfactory. The presentation by the teacher of the totality of these rules – even to the limited extent to which they are known (and they may, of course, be formulated in „inductive" as well as overt form), and their

acquisition by the student, would represent teaching and learning tasks of prohibitve magnitude in the relatively brief period of time normally allotted to instruction. Obviously selection is required, and the problem becomes one of finding criteria for the choice of learnable material. Its solution requires consideration of the process of language acquisition from a linguistic point of view.

Sentences of varied structure, the units of communication, are normally the focus of attention in modern-day language teaching. Substructures as such – case systems, tense systems, and even general word-order patterns – are usually not taught, except in the form of brief summary statements and review lessons. These pedagogical requirements imply, from a typological point of view, the ranking and selection of language substructures for teaching purposes in accordance with their productivity in forming correct and highly useful – communication units. In thus evaluating universal and typological rules from the viewpoint of the dynamics of functioning language, the linguist is not breaking with his traditional standpoint, but only widening his horizons to include the communication act, the communication process itself, as a significant factor.

The linguistic consequences of another well-known fact of foreign language acquisition must also be considered. It is common knowledge among language teachers that learners normally acquire far more of the target language (even where exposure is largely confined to the classroom) than they have explicitly been taught. For example, in teaching Russian to Hungarians, little attention is usually accorded word-order patterns. One result is excessive interference from Hungarian. In spite of this, however, many Russian word-order rules – far more than would be anticipated from the teaching in-put – are correctly acquired. That the learner can thus accurately deduce a major portion of the rules, usually unconsciously, is a significant fact which must be taken into account. High priority should be placed on the investigation of this unconscious process. That is, the linguist should no longer confine his attention to failures in the acquisitional process which occur despite the teacher's efforts – the concern of error analysis – but extend it as well to successes which occur without the teacher's help – „success analysis".

The universals of language acquisition must also be studied from a psychological perspective. A first step toward such a characterization of first language acquisition has been taken by Slobin and his associates (see Slobin 1970). On the basis of a large number of languages, they have attempted a preliminary formulation of the acquisitional universals of child language in terms of psycholinguistic structures. Part of this formulation appears to be valid for foreign language acquisition as well, but the problem must also be systematically approached on the basis of data from a wide variety of

acquisitional situations. This in turn highlights the urgent necessity for relating acquisitional and typological universals The former are clearly vital in the programming of language course materials, but here the typological characteristics of the base and target languages must be taken into consideration as well. Very little is actually known about the principles generally employed in the grammatical programming of language textbooks, i.e. the selection and organization of material for presentation. Obviously certain lingustic and methodological criteria are invoked – for example, that the introduction of basic structures should precede that of derived structures, proceeding from the simple to the more complex. However these principles do not provide an adequate working basis. At the same time textbooks for the most part exhibit a high degree of similarity, partly the result of tradition, and presumably of undefined pedagogical experience and instinct as well. Important differences are, of course, often also discernible (see Stephanides 1973 in the present volume).

As this exposition has proceeded, the problems observed facing the application of typology to contrastive linguistics have rapidly multiplied. It is apparent that while linguistic and typological knowledge are prerequisites to the selection and utilization of relevant aspects of typological theory, much more is required. What is needed is not merely increased knowledge of the typological characteristics of language, but a new strategy meeting the requirements of the study of language acquisition, a new perspective for the research. The kind of language typology which encompasses the process of language acquisition within its research domain must interrelate with the psycholinguistic investigation of the universals of language acquisition, as well as with other research (learning psychology, data analysis, etc.) concerned with the learning process.

3. *Typology and constrastive linguistics: a research and development program*

3.1 The ultimate goal of the proposed research is the traditional one of contrastive linguistics: the development of principles permitting the prediction of learning characteristics in foreign language acquisition on the basis of a comparison of the learner's base and target languages. What is required, and hopefully to be supplied by the research, is a) far greater knowledge of the learning process itself, and, b) a correlation of characteristics of this process with typological characteristics of B and T. Implied is a reformulation of B and T in typological terms having specified psychological content or, at any rate, cross indexed with a psychological taxonomy of language acquisition.

This program calls for the development of a *typological framework* permitting the relevant classification and comparison of B and T as language types, and *transition rules* governing the conversion of B to T through a series of approximative stages.

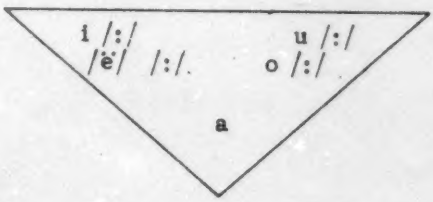
Such transitional rules are related to the transfer grammar rules proposed by Zellig Harris (1954), which were designed to specify the structural changes required to inter-convert language systems. Thus, the most general of these rules relating English as the base language and Hungarian as the target language would be E + (H − E) = H, *i.e.* the learning of H by speakers involves the addition to E rules, including rules shared with H, of rules unique to H. When applied to specific structures in the base and target systems, transfer grammar rules can indeed yield predictions of learning behavior, although claims for their validity have been very circumspect (see Schachter 1960). However while these transfer rules could perhaps be used to project approximative stages in foreign language acquisition, they are poorly adapted for the purpose since they provide only a measurement of typological distance between structures in B and T, one not correlated with a *psychological* metric. Typologic measurement alone offers no explanation as to why, for example, English speakers can apparently more readily be taught the rounded front vowel /ü/ than the unrounded back vowel /ɯ/ the voiceless velar spirant /x/ than its voiced counterpart /γ/, since the members of these pairs are equidistant from English in terms of unfamiliar feature combinations (Brière 1966). Similarly the shortest typological distance may not be the shortest acquisitional route. English learners acquiring the French low back nasalized vowel /ã/, typologically a straightforward matter of recombining two familar elements, the sound [a] and the feature [~], often establishing an intermediate stage, clearly a digression from the typological point of view, in which the French phoneme is first reanalyzed as a sequence of /a/ plus the apical nasal /n/:

typological sequence: /a/ + /~/ → /ã/
acquisitional sequence: /a/ + /n/ → /an/ → /ã/

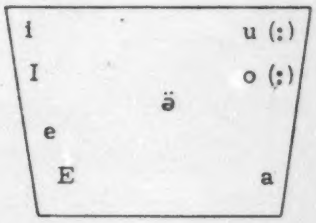
The envisioned typological framework and transition rules would be empirically based on the results of research of the type proposed below as well as on the results of coordinated psycholinguistic investigation. At this point, of course, one can only hazard a simplistic guess concerning the form this framework and these transition rules will take. However, for illustrative purposes, let us assume that this framework will closely resemble the present-day typological framework employed in describing phonological, grammatical and lexical systems. Let us also assume that the transition rules are known,

including those required for our illustrations. We can then offer fictional projections of the approximative structures and sequences for three aspects of language structure as follows:

a) A vowel system of the H type in confrontation with one of the E type will normally result in the formation of Hungarian-English approximative systems including an early stage marked by i) the substitution of length distinctions for aperture distinctions and ii) the substitution of rounding for centralization:



This will be succeeded by a second approximative stage in which certain aperture distinctions are introduced for the front vowels alone, and in which centralization combines with rounding[2]:



And so on, in a series of projected stages leading toward merger with the English system.

b) Such (as yet fictional) transition rules for grammatical structures might be applied in projecting approximative stages between „extreme" system types where the base system is characterized by i) the basic syntactic order verb-subject-object (VSO), ii) the use of prepositions (Pr) and iii) the order noun-adjective (NA), while the target system is characterized by i) the order SOV, ii) the use of postpositions (Po) and iii) the order AN. The yet-to-be-discovered transition rules might, for example, posit two intermediate learning stages prior to the acquisition of the T structures, both of them

[2]The stage was actually attested in the speech of a Hungarian learner of English (see Nemser and Juhász 1964: 163–216).

utilizing a basic word-order pattern characteristic of neither language and the first sharing the persistence of the modification pattern of B:

$$\begin{matrix} B & & a_\alpha & & a_\beta & & T \\ \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{VSO}\\ \text{Pr}\\ \text{NA}\end{matrix}\right\} & \rightarrow & \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{SVO}\\ \text{Po}\\ \text{NA}\end{matrix}\right\} & \rightarrow & \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{SVO}\\ \text{Po}\\ \text{AN}\end{matrix}\right\} & \rightarrow & \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{SOV}\\ \text{Po}\\ \text{AN}\end{matrix}\right\} \end{matrix}$$

(For discussion of these typological parameters see Greenberg 1963.)

c) The possible application of such transition rules in the acquisition of semantic structures can again be fictionally illustrated with H and E as base and target language respectively. An example is provided by the English term *eye*, with its subsumed semantic components (each presumably further analyzable into ultimate semantic features):

eye 1. 'organ of sight'
2. 'faculty of seeing'
3. 'faculty of perception or appreciation'
4. 'look, glance'
5. 'point of view, judgement'
6. 'hole through the head of a needle'
7. 'loop or other catch to receive a hook'
8. 'circular marking (as on a peacock's tail)'
9. 'calm center of a storm'
10. 'undeveloped bud (as a potato)'

The transition rules might conceivably project an early stage at which the H learner of E used *eye* only in the basic senses 1 and 2 shared with H *szem*, a subsequent stage at which are added the extended senses, 3, 4, 5, 8 and 10, shared with H, and perhaps a later stage, marked by a quantitative *increase* in interference, at which the meanings 'grain' (wheat, oat, barley) and 'grafted branch' unique to *szem* are imported.[3]

A comment on the status of these transition rules would be appropriate. They are viewed as tendencies not laws. We are all aware that phonological, grammatical and lexical rules of a language, presumably including language universals (e.g. implicational constraints), can be and often are volitionally violated by speakers with jocular intent, for special expressive purposes, in the treatment of loan words, for special literary purposes, and so on.

[3]See William Nemser and Ileana Vincenz (1972) for a discussion of problems concerning componential semantic contrastive analysis.

Similarly the rules of dynamic typology which govern language change are often subject to resistance, as in the case, for instance, of normative adherence to grammatical patterns long at variance with structural tendencies (as in the E patterns *Whom did you see?* and *It is I.*), or of normative rejection of patterns in obvious conformity with these tendencies *(Ain't I lucky?)*. The assumption here is that the synchronic and diachronic rules relevant to the formation and evolution of approximative systems are similarly subject to violation – obviously foreign languages can be taught and acquired against the typological grain, and clearly often are. Nevertheless the significance of such rules, evident in the cases of descriptive and historical linguistics, is at least as evident in that of contrastive linguistics in regard to both the theoretical and applied objectives of the field.

The proposed research program, while aimed at the development of general principles, reflects the conviction that generalization must be preceded at the most concrete level by the intensive investigation of *individual language systems*, a subject largely neglected by linguistics as a whole. Traditional contrastive studies, like linguistic research in general, concerns itself almost exclusively with language systems at the *community* level, and the contact of B and T is viewed from this abstract perspective:

In actuality, of course, the site of the contact of language systems is the individual learner. Moreover, since this is the case, the base system is not B (at the community level) but the learner's individual base system (b). Similarly the target language is not T but the individual language systems serving as his acquisitional models ($t_{1...n}$), in the case of formal instruction including those represented by his teachers, textbooks and other contacts with T. This *indiscenti* contact of individual language systems during the process of language acquisition is viewed as resulting in the development of a linked series of individual learner systems representing various stages of progress toward T ($a_{\alpha...\omega}$). Among the factors determining the characteristics of these individual approximative systems and sequences are individual learning characteristics, the influence of *b*, type and extent of exposure to $t_{1...n}$, the inertial influences of prior approximative stages, (which systems, like *b*, now form part of his earlier linguistic conditioning), and, presumably, general typological rules relating to the synchronic formation and diachronic evolution of language systems. In these terms the learning process can be pictured as follows where A represents an approximative „language" at the community level of B and T, i.e. the aggregate of individual approximative systems in a given contact situation:

$$B_b ____ A_\alpha ____ \ldots\ldots ____ \omega \rightarrow T_{t_{1\ldots n}}$$

The proposed research program, in which contrastive linguists, typologists, psychologists and language teachers would participate, is in effect already in progress both explicitly, in the form preliminary research planned or in progress, and implicitly, in research reflecting a newly awakened interest among contrastive linguists in the learner himself. The first stage of the program calls for the analysis of individual approximative systems in a number of different contact situations and at a representative selection of learning stages. A variety of descriptive, observational and experimental techniques suggest themselves (see Nemser and Slama-Cazacu, *op. cit.*, for numerous examples; several will be illustrated below) and should permit the descriptive formulation of such systems. Descriptive linguists should be warned, however, that the field work will pose new problems including, for example, the occurence of sound types not normally encountered in phonetic manuals, and considerable structural fluctuation.

Some examples can be offered of experimental research procedures which have proved effective in related research and in earlier preliminary investigation of approximative systems. A study dealing with the perception and production of various E phonemes by native speakers of Hungarian (William Nemser 1971) employed a variety of experimental techniques which could be usefully applied in the research program being described. Perception tests included the „oddball" type in which informants are required to identify the deviant one among four recorded test words (e.g. *tin, thin, tin, tin.*) as a means of establishing whether a given distinction has yet been established. Another perception test sought similar information by requiring the subject to transcribe English utterance with a specially devised set of symbols. Productions of the test phonemes were elected by asking informants to repeat recorded nonsense syllables with the addition – in initial or final position – of test phonemes represented in their scripts. Another production test called for the retranslation of Hungarian words into English words containing the test phonemes. On a repetition test, informants were instructed to repeat recorded items containing the test phonemes. One test required the informants to find Hungarian counterparts for the English sounds. Finally, through the use of tape-cutting, a test sought perceptual interpretations of the stops in English words like *spill, still* and *skill* (for the use of this technique with speakers with a variety of language backgrounds, see John Lotz et al, 1960).

The investigation, cited earlier (3.3.), of the approximative phonology of a Hungarian learner of English, also employed a retranslation technique in which the subject retranslated Hungarian sentences into English sentences containing the test phoneme. When limitations on the subject's knowledge of

English made it necessary, the English sentence was supplied for repetition. The unpublished investigation of approximative grammatical structures also cited earlier (see again 3.3.) utilized pictures as the subject of queries by the investigator to elecit responses indicating extent of familiarity with the test structures. Among such structures were plurality (pictures of three cups, one chair, four bottles, etc.; „What do you see in each box? ", etc.); the use of the copula, subject-copula agreement, subject-predicate adjective agreement (picture of sets of colored squares and circles; „Describe these", „Compare these and these", etc.); and pronominal gender (pictures of men, women, boys, and girls engaged in various activities, „What is the man doing? ", etc.). Other tests were of the interview type, all of them seeking information on verbal categorization, e.g. simple present („Tell me about your new job".), simple past („Tell me about last Sunday"). Other tests, concerned with reported speech, called for the description of a conversation, and interrogatives, even for interviewing the investigator.

As a next step in the research program, and in long-range terms, one would seek to ascertain for an approximative language A_x (for example, Hungarian-English) the generalizability of the properties of individual approximative systems $/a_{1...n}/$. This research would take the form first of transverse studies of learners at the same stage of learning to determine the degree and type of uniformity among systems of different individuals. Next would follow longitudinal studies – case histories – of the evolution of individual learner systems during the process of foreign language acquisition $/a\,x_{\alpha,\beta...n}/$. Finally the approximative sequences of different learners would be compared with the aim of characterizing the approximative language as a whole (i.e. Hungarian-English, English-Hungarian, and so on).

While this program is clearly unrealistic in scope, taken *in toto*, for even a single contact situation, it should be feasible to launch small-scale projects in which learners in a language program, preferably an intensive program to economize on research time, could be examined at several stages in the course of their studies. Transverse studies of learners at selected levels should be relatively easy to implement since students in non-intensive programs could also be used as subjects.

The next phase of the proposed research would involve the comparative study of the approximative languages of learners sharing the same target language but with different base languages. Its purpose would include the specification of learning characteristics general to such learners and those specific to those whose base languages share typological characteristics.

The last and very distant phase of the proposed research would call for the comparison of different A's permitting the specific characterization of approximative systems as language types.

Whether or not the proposed research bears out the approximative system hypothesis, it cannot fail to yield information of both high scientific interest and practical relevance in the form of new knowledge of the learning behavior of foreign language learners and of relationships between this behavior and the structural characteristics of their base and target languages. Another important product of the research would be an evaluation of the relative behavioral relevance of various current theoretical models in linguistics, (including those of the Prague school, the transformationalists, stratificationalists, glossematicians, Hallidayans, etc.).

However the optimistically anticipated results of the research, with those of associated psychological investigation, include both corraboration of the approximative system hypothesis and disclosure of those synchronic and diachronic typological properties of such systems which will make possible, within tolerable limits, the prediction and explication of foreign language acquisitional traits by reference to typological properties of the base and target systems, that is the actual attainment of the goals which motivate the discipline of contrastive linguistics but which have largely eluded it to date.

3.2 In this closing section of the paper, we would like to risk a millenial guess as to how the results of the research program just described might be applied to the development of language programs of the future.

Little will be said about pedagogical procedures, *i.e.* how specific learning objectives are to be met, although the anticipated research results would bear heavily on these questions. The concern is more general: the specification and ordering of these learning objectives.

We shall make assumption that the proposed research has established the validity of the approximative system hypothesis, demonstrating that a) learners do indeed tend to form transitional systems in the course of foreign language acquisition, and that b) such systems in the same contact situation resemble each other significantly both in their staging and their sequencing.

We shall also assume progress toward the revelation of those typological characteristics of approximative systems and hence toward the research objectives earlier citted (3.4.1) of specification of a *typological framework* permitting the relevant typological characterization of languages in the role of B and T, and *transition rules* governing the formation and progression of approximative stages.

We will further assume that these synchronic and diachronic typological characteristics can be related to those general to all language types, including child language, *i.e.* that these systems, while clearly marked by characteristics

distinguishing them from „full" languages (including the characteristics of poverty and exocentricity), nevertheless significantly share the universal typological characteristics of language in regard both to structural organization and to the evolution of this organization through time. In planning the language program of the future based on the presumed results of the research program earlier described, the first decision would be to define learning stages in terms of explicitly formulated approximative systems. (At present such stages are undefined except atomistically in terms of the target language.) That is, the proposal is to establish approximative systems as transitional objectives.

Incidentally, the idea of setting up such acquisitional stages is hardly new, even in explicit form. For example, some years ago William A. Steward, a specialist in non-standard Black English in the United States, recommended that standard American English be taught to black children speaking this dialect in a series of stages illustrated by the sentences *John and Michael, they out playing; John and Michael, they are out playing;* and *John and Michael are out playing.* The notion of staging is also clearly present in self-instructional materials developed in the French Prototype Project of the Center for Applied Linguistics. For example, students are first taught a transitional vocalic system based on the extreme loci of the French system, /i/, /u/ and /a/. The vocalic spectrum is then further differentiated in a series of carefully sequenced steps.

Following the decision to establish such approximative systems as transitional objectives, the problem then becomes to determine a) the number of such systems for a given program of instruction, b) the structural characteristics of these systems, and c) their sequencing. Guidance in these decisions is offered by a variety of criteria. Those found in the precepts of static (synchronic) and dynamic (diachronic) typology are of greatest interest here. However before discussing them at some length we will deal briefly with the others.

First, obviously, external criteria will play a role in determining the form of the program, *i.e.* the use to which the language skill to be taught will be put. Requirements may vary from general communication needs to the specific circumscribed needs met in so-called „tactical courses" based on careful „task analysis": the language requirements, for instance, of a European medical technician working in a West African community. Such „little language" courses have already been developed with outstanding success. What was actually involved in their construction, as viewed in the present framework, was the careful formulation of the grammars of specialized elementary level approximative systems (actual descriptions of these grammars are included in several of the courses).

Among the *internal* criteria for the staging and sequencing of the approximative systems in a language program would be contrastive considerations: the desire to minimize the negative effects and maximize the positive effects on the learning process of both the structural characteristics of the base language and those of the learner's approximative system itself. Presumably the proposed research would contribute significantly to the further development of such contrastive criteria.

One criterion would be the learning histories of successful foreign language learners, another presumed product of the research, particularly learners of average rather than exceptional ability. Also of relevance will be the results of increasing research interest in relationships between first and foreign language acquisition.

It will be recalled that one object of the proposed research was to determine the extent of similarities among the learning characteristics of learners having the same target language but different base systems. The results could enable language program planners to introduce flexibility into the program by developing core curricular oriented toward general learning characteristics, with contrastive „modules" specific to each contact situation. (Obviously the preparation of separate programs on textbooks for all learners of different language background is often not feasible.) Alternatively separate programs could be developed for learners representing major typological groups.

As is well known, Roman Jakobson, in his classic work *Kindersprache, Aphasie und allgemeine Lautgesetze* (1941), attempted to integrate the typological laws of implication (i.e. structural dependencies) holding between elements at the synchronic stages of a language, and the laws governing the succession of stages in historical development, with those governing both the process of first language acquisition and the phenomenon of language loss in speech pathology. What is suggested here is the possible relevance of these typological universals for the process of foreign language acquisition as well. Thus our final criteria for determining the optimal staging and sequencing of approximative systems in a future language program are offered by the synchronic and diachronic principles of language typology. We will close with some examples of the possible application of these criteria. However the hypothetical nature of this application must be stressed: clearly all teaching strategies suggested by this approach must be checked against the actual data of learner performance.

The contact situations represented in some examples cited are scarcely common in real life (the acquisition of Mongolian by Arabic speakers, or even Hungarian by Malagasy speakers is not among the most urgent language requirements). They are, however, useful for illustrative purposes. Examples of both recommended and counter-recommended strategies are included:

a) *Synchronic universal* (syntactic order): The orders SVO and VOS do not co-occur in a language without OVS or VSO.

Pedagogical hypothesis: Where SVO and VOS co-occur in the target language, they should be introduced in different approximative stages separated by the introduction of OVS and VSO.

Example: English (base) - - - -➤ Russian (target):

B - - - - -➤ a_α - - - - -➤ a_β - - - -➤ a_γ - - - -➤ T

SVO (basic)	SVO	SVO	SVO	SVO
(OVS) (secondary)		(OVS)	(OVS)	(OVS)
(VSO) (secondary)			(VSO)	(VSO)
				(VOS)

b) *Synchronic universal* (syntactic order): The order types VOS and OSV do not co-occur in languages as the sole variants (and they co-occur only in languages with free word order).

Pedagogical hypothesis: OSV should be introduced in different approximative stages separated by the introduction of other orders.

Example: Malagasy - - - -➤ Hungarian; *non*-recommended strategy:

B - - - -➤ a_α - - - -➤ a_β - - - -➤ T

VOS	VOS	VOS	SOV
		OSV	SVO
			(OSV)
			(OVS)
			(VSO)
			(VOS)

c) *Synchronic universal (grammatical categories):* The dual category presupposes the plural category.

Pedagogical hypothesis: The plural should be introduced at an earlier approximative stage than the dual.

Examples: English - - - -➤ Slovenian; 1) non-recommended, 2) recommended:

1) $B \dashrightarrow a_\alpha \dashrightarrow a_\beta \dashrightarrow T$

singular	singular	singular	singular
plural		dual	plural
			dual

2) $B \dashrightarrow a_\alpha \dashrightarrow a_\beta \dashrightarrow T$

sg.	sg.	sg.	sg.
pl.		pl.	pl.
			dual

d) *Synchronic universal (phonology):* If in a given language there is only one nasal, it is /n/; where there are two, the second is /m/ (every language has at least one nasal).

Pedagogical hypothesis: the introduction of /n/ and /m/ should precede that of other nasal phonemes.

$B \dashrightarrow a_\alpha \dashrightarrow T$

m-n (n')	m-n	m-n-ŋ

e) *Synchronic universal (phonology).* At articulatory loci where languages have affricates they also have stops and fricatives.

Pedagogical hypothesis. Stops and fricatives should be introduced prior to homotopical affricates.

Example: Japanese ⇢ German

$B \dashrightarrow a_\alpha \dashrightarrow T$

p	p/f	*p/f*
		pf

f) *Diachronic universal (changes in syntactic order):* The development of SOV from VSO, and the reverse, presuppose an intermediate stage SVO:

VSO ⇠⇢ SVO ⇠⇢ SOV

Pedagogical hypothesis: Where all three orders exist in T, VSO and SOV should be introduced in different stages separated by the introduction of SVO.

Example: Arabic ----> Hungarian:

B ----> a_α ----> a_β ----> T

VSO	VSO	VSO	VSO
(SVO)		SVO	SVO
			SOV
			(OVS)
			(OSV)
			(VOS)

g) *Diachronic universal (changes in syntactic order):* The first position is normally shared by earlier and later orders (except when there is a shift in the basic topic-comment relationship):

Germanic ---> Old English ---> Middle English ---> Mod. English

SOV	SOV ~ SVO	SVO	SVO
		(SOV)	

Pedagogical hypothesis: Where no common order variant exists in B and T, T orders sharing first position with B orders should be introduced first.

Examples: 1) Arabic ---> Mongolian; 2) Mongolian ---> Arabic

1) B ----> a_α ----> T

VSO	SOV	SOV
(SVO)	((VSO))[4]	(OSV)
		((VSO))

2) B ----> a_α ----> T

SOV	VSO	VSO
(OSV)		(SVO)
((VSO))		

[4]The order VSO is probably too rare in Mongolian to be regarded as a linking variant with Arabic.

h) *Diacronic universal (changes in the phonological pattern):* Nasal vowels and nasal syllabics normally result historically from the loss of a vowel preceding a nasal consonant.

Pedagogical hypothesis: Sequences of vowel plus nasal consonant should be introduced before nasal vowels and syllabic nasals.

1) B ------ a_{α} ---→ T

ϕ a+n $\tilde{a}$

2) B ------ a_{α} ----→ T

ϕ ~~l~~+n $\tilde{n}$

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Constrastive Aspects of British and American English with Implications for Hungarian Learners of English

Éva Diósy-Stephanides

1. *Introduction*

An important factor in foreign language learning is the ability to substitute the sound system of the foreign language for the sound system of the mother tongue. Even if learners construct correct sentences, and employ accurate lexical items, their speech will still betray the foreigner and often engender confusion if they are unable to master the sounds of the language in question. The problem of the acquisition of the phonetic system arises as soon as the first word has to be learned. In the case of English it must also be decided at the very first outset which variety of English pronunciation is to be taught.

The widespread use of English has obviously resulted in great divergencies in pronunciation. More than 300 million people speak English as their mother tongue, and in addition about 500 million people use it as a second or auxiliary language. From the point of view of language teaching, however, only two main types of English need be taken into consideration: British and American English.[1] It is therefore essential that teachers of English as a foreign language adopt, as closely as possible, one of the two main models of pronunciation. In most countries of Europe, including Hungary, it is the British variety that is taught, the so-called "Received Pronunciation", RP for short, the product of a long historical evolution from the dialects of London and the surrounding counties. RP is a kind of superdialect used not only by educated speakers in Southern England today, but a form of pronunciation used in higher education, on the stage, in radio transmission and on television. It has been described in detail by the great English phonetician, Daniel Jones, and his successor at University College, London, A. C. Gimson, in their works on English phonetics, and in Jones' *English Pronouncing Dictionary*, descriptions which serve as a guide to any teacher or learner of English. It is this RP that we endeavour to teach in Hungarian general and secondary schools, and at our universities and other institutions of higher education. But since about 200 million people speak the American variety of English, and since many Hungarians know this variety either through direct contact with native speakers of AE, or indirectly through films, the radio, and gramophone records, all English teachers should be familiar with the main differences

[1]Henceforth usually BE and AE.

between British and American English, taking into account phonology, vocabulary, grammar, and spelling. Because of time and space restrictions, I shall deal here only with the sound systems as exemplifying the most striking difference between the two varieties of English.

By AE is here meant the variety of speech used in the United States and Canada. There is no recognized standard of pronunciation for this vast territory since the colonists emigrated from various parts of Great Britain and therefore spoke different dialects. For example, the immigrants of New England and the Southern states came chiefly from the South of England and London, those of the Midland states from the North of England, Scotland an Ireland. But even at the outset it is probable that no settlement consisted entirely of speakers of the same dialect. So there must have been a compromise quite early, with regional differences developing at various points on the coastal plains along the Atlantic Ocean. These dialects reflect such different local cultures, with their distinctive social characteristics, as those of Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston. The Atlantic seaboard is viewed by Hans Kurath (1964), an eminent authority on American dialects, as the seedbed of all current American varieties of English spoken farther west on the North American continent. The three major dialects are labelled by him *Northern* (New England and New York State, Metropolitan New York excepted), *Midland* (Pensylvania and adjoining areas to the east, west and south-west), and *Southern* (including the distinctive areas of Virginia and South Carolina). It is from these centres that the colonists spread in all directions, carrying the Southern type of speech as far as the Gulf of Mexico, and the Midland speech across the Middle West to the Far West along the Pacific Ocean. It is the Western type of American speech which is usually identified with AE. This variety is, in fact, most characteristically American and is used by nearly two-thirds of the total population.

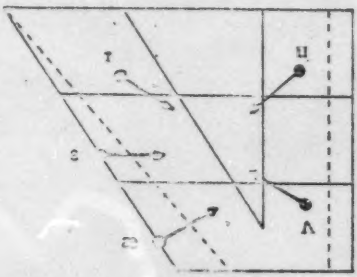
It is the sound system of this variety that I wish to present and to contrast with British English RP in order to make Hungarian native speakers aware of the differences, and to enable them consistently to employ either one or the other variety. At the same time I wish to point out that when teaching the English and the Hungarian sound systems, the two varieties will involve both similar and different problems.

2. *Contrastive Features of British and American English*

2.1 Qualitative differences

2.1.1. Constant differences:

The vowel sounds of AE, with the apparent exception of /i:/, show a tendency toward centralization. The retraction of the front vowels, together with the advancing of some of the back vowels makes the vowel area of AE smaller than that in BE:



(*Dots* represent normal BE vowel positions, *arrows* the direction towards the position at which AE vowels tend to be pronounced; the *dotted line* the front and back limit of AE vowels.)[2]

BE	AE
/ɒ/	/ɑ/

Where BE has an open back vowel with slight lip-rounding /ɒ/, AE has in general a central, open, unrounded vowel /ɑ/ as in *stop*, the short member of the pair including /ɑ:/ as in *farther*. This short, unrounded /ɑ/ is used before voiceless stops /p,t,k/, /l/, as well as in the prefix *pro-*, as in *proposition*. It also occurs before the voiced stops /b,d,g,/, and the nasals /m,n,ŋ/, although not so consistently. Other examples include: *lock, not, rob, log, college, common, concert, conquer, project, proverb*, etc.

BE	AE
/əʊ/	/oʊ/

The glide of RP (əʊ) begins at a central position, between half close and half open, and moves in the direction of /ʊ/ with a slight closing movement of the jaw and rounding of the lips. This type has become general in recent

[2]Ward (1958) p. 209.

years.[3] The diphthong has a number of variants, one of them being the more conservative type starting from a more retracted position lower than that of cardinal /o/, with the whole glide accompanied by increasing lip-rounding.

In AE the corresponding sound is only slightly diphthongized, not confronted, and starts from /o/. Thus *go, solo* are pronounced [gəʊ] [səʊləʊ] in BE, but [goʊ] [soʊ loʊ] in AE.

BE	AE
/ɪ/	/ɨ/, /ə/

The vowel /ɪ/ occurs in unstressed position in BE, but a more centralized sound /ɨ/ or /ə/ in AE. These sounds occur before /s, z, t, d, č, ǰ/ as in *useless, kindness, houses, rises, private, minute, wanted, waited, village, sausage, spinach,*

BE	AE
/r/	/r/

Initial prevocalic /r/, as in *red, rose, run,* is a voiced post-alveolar frictionless continuant in BE, articulated with the tip of the tongue near the upper teeth ridge, but not touching it. The back rims of the tongue are touching the upper molars; the central part of the tongue is lowered with a general contraction of the tongue, so that it is hollowed, with the tip slightly retracted.

In AE the tip of the tongue tends to be more retroflexed, i.e. curled and retracted.

In intervocalic position, as in *merry, hurry, sorry, forever,* /r/ is frequently realized in BE as an alveolar tap. This allophone is regularly used after the dental fricatives /θ, ð/ in BE, and sometimes in AE as well.

The alveolar tap is rare in intervocalic position in AE except as an allophone of /t/, as in *better, matter, Saturday,* etc. In AE intervocalic /r/ is normally a frictionless continuant.[4]

2.1.2. Variable differences

BE	AE
[l]	[ɬ]

A clear variant of /l/ occurs in BE initially, intervocalically and after a consonant: *leave, silly, glad.* A dark or velarized variant /ɬ/ is common post-vocalically in final position and pre-consonantly in most varieties of BE: *feel,*

[3] See Gimson (1962)

[4] For the syllabic /r̩/ or r-coloured vowel see 2.2. below.

help. The same variant also occurs in syllabic function after a consonant: *little, apple*.

In the speech of many Americans, velarization of the /l/ is noticeable in all positions: *lady, like, play, silly, million, London*. While the velarization is less marked in initial and medial position than in final position, it is obvious when the AE variants are contrasted with their BE counterpart.

BE	AE
/p,t,k/	/P,T,K/

In AE, in intervocalic position or after /r,n,l/, the distinction between /p,t,k/ and /b,d,g/ is often neutralized, the former losing their fortis character and distinguished from their lenis counterparts only on the basis of the retained shortness of the preceding vowel, as in: *matter, waiting, capital, property, significant,* and *second*. In particular, intervocalic /t/ is so short that it is no more than a very rapid tap of the tongue-tip on the teeth-ridge, with voicing throughout. To the ears of foreigners speaking languages with a tapped or rolled /r/, intervocalic /t/ pronounced in this way sounds like a one-tap /r/: *Betty* sounds like *berry*.[5] Although the consonants /p,k/ have a lenis variant pronounced with weak articulation in similar positions, they are less noticeably different from BE /p, k/.

2.2 Distributional differences

BE	AE
[æ], [ɑ:]	[æ], [ɑ:]

Certain differences exist in the distribution of open front [æ] and open back [ɑ:] in the two dialects. According to A. H. Marckwardt[6], before the consonants /f, s, θ/ and the nasals, where BE has /ɑ:/, AE has /æ/ in a group of words numbering about 150. There are at least three times as many words which regularly have /æ/ in both varieties of English. Examples of words with divergent pronounciations include:

[5] This, of course, raises the problem as to whether the phone should be considered an allophone of /t/ or of /r/.
[6] Marckwardt (1958).

	BE	AE
pass:	/pɑːs/	/pæs/
ask:	/ɑːsk/	/æsk/
after:	/ɑːftə/	/æftɹ/
staff:	/stɑːf/	/stæf/
bath:	/bɑːθ/	/bæθ/
dance:	/dɑːns/	/dæns/
can't:	/kɑːnt/	/kænt/

AE has preserved in these words an older feature of the language, reflecting their pronunciation in Shakespeare's time, and it is believed that even as late as the middle of the 18th century the change to /ɑ/ had not yet been adopted. Sheridan s General Dictionary of the English Language, published in 1780, gives no indication of the existence of an /ɑ/vowel in the BE of that period for words of this group.

BE	AE
/juː/, /uː/	/juː/, /uː/

Where BE has /juː/, the simple vowel /uː/ is normally used in AE after the alveolar consonants /t,d,n/, the dental /θ/, as well as after /l,s,z/, as in: *tube, Tuesday, student, duty, due, during, produce, new, knew, numeral, enthusiasm, assume, presume.* In *lucid, luminous, lubricate,* both /juː/ and /uː/ are heard in BE, usually only /uː/ in AE.

BE	AE
–	/r/

/r/ has a different distribution in BE and AE. No /r/ is pronounced in BE before consonants or finally. However, a „linking *r*" may occur in intervocalic position between word-final and word-initial vowels.[7] In AE /r/ is pronounced both before consonants and finally.

2.3 Qualitative and distributional differences

BE	AE
/ɜː/	/r/

[7] Normally where no *r* is indicated in spelling, the pronunciation of /r/ is not obligatory, as in: *the idea of it* /ðɪ aɪ'dɪə(r)əvɪt/; however, it sometimes occurs in this position in BE and, less frequently, in AE.

The counterpart of BE /ɜ:/ in stressed position is syllabic /r̩/(also called an „r-coloured"vowel) in AE in certain positions:

	BE	AE
bird:	/bɜ:d/	/br̩d/
word:	/wɜ:d/	/wr̩d/
burn:	/bɜ:n/	/br̩n/
her:	/hɜ:/	/hr̩/
fur:	/fɜ:/	/fr̩/
divert:	/dɪ'vɜ:t/	/dɪ'vr̩t/

In unstressed syllables the corresponding sound is /ə/ in BE and /r/ in AE:

	BE	AE
better:	/'betə/	/'betr̩/
bigger:	/'bɪgə/	/'bigr̩/
dollar:	/'dɒlə/	/'dɑlr̩/
pleasure:	/'pleʒə/	/'pleʒr̩/
perhaps:	/pə'hæps/	/pr̩'hæps/

BE	AE
/aɪ/	/ɪ/(or elision)

Certain vowels are shortened or weakened in AE before /l/ in syllables which have secondary or weak stress where in BE a full vowel is retained. The weakened vowels of AE can, in most cases, be elided and the following /l/ syllabified.

	BE	AE
docile:	/'dəʊsaɪl/	/'dɑs/ɪ/l/
futile:	/'fju:taɪl/	/'fju:t/ɪ/l/
fertile:	/'fɜ:taɪl/	/'fr̩t/ɪ/l/
hostile:	/'hɒstaɪl/	/'hɑst/ɪ/l/
versatile:	/'vɜ:sətaɪl/	/'vrsət/ɪ/l/
missile:	/'mɪsaɪl/	/'mɪs/ɪ/l/

2.4. Stress and rhythm

In a large number of words where in BE there is a single primary stress surrounded by unstressed syllables with reduced vowels, in AE the primary stress is accompanied by a secondary stress and corresponding syllables with unreduced vowels. Thus the rhythmic pattern is completely changed. For example:

	BE	AE
extraordinary:	/ɪksˈtrɔ:dnrɪ/	/ɪksˈtrɑdənɛrɪ/
temporary:	/ˈtemp/ə/rərɪ/	/ˈtɛmpəˌrɛrɪ/
necessary:	/ˈnesɪs/ə/rɪ/	/ˈnɛsəˌsɛrɪ/
laboratory:	/ˈlæb/ə/rət/ə/rɪ/	/ˈlæb/ə/rəˌtorɪ/
	or /ləˈbɒr/ə/t/ə/rɪ/	
dictionary:	/ˈdɪkšən/ə/rɪ/	/ˈdɪkšəneɾɪ/
ceremony:	/ˈserɪmənɪ/	/ˈsɛrəˌmonɪ/
library:	or /ˈlaɪlbrərɪ/	/ˈlaɪbrɛrɪ/
	/ˈlaɪbrɪ/	
strawberry:	/ˈstrɔ:b/ə/rɪ/	/ˈstrɔˌbɛrɪ/

2.5. Miscellaneous

In addition there are a number of words differently pronounced in the two varieties of English, but these differences cannot be systematized and have to be learnt individually. Examples include:

	BE	AE
ate:	/et/	/eɪt/
clerk:	/klɑ:k/	/klɝk/
figure:	/ˈfɪgə/	/ˈfɪgjɚ/
lieutenant:	/lefˈtenənt/	/luˈtenənt/
premier:	/ˈpremjə/	or /ˈprimɪr/
		/priˈmir/
schedule:	/ˈšedjʊl/	/ˈskedjʊl, ˈskeǰʊl/
z (the letter)	/zed/	/zi:/

There are essential differences in the intonation of the two varieties, but to describe these is beyond the scope of this paper.

3. *Contrastive features of English and Hungarian*

We shall first deal with those features which are common to both BE and AE.

3.1 Distinctive features

Certain sounds and distinctions common to both BE and AE have no Hungarian counterparts. Hungarian vowels, unlike those of BE or AE, are often distinguished by length or lip position alone. Purely quantitative differences distinguish pairs of close and half-close vowels:

front vowels	/i:/ ~ /i/	: *írt* 'he wrote',	*irt*	'he eradicates'
	/y:/ ~ /y/	: *fűl* 'get warm',	*fül*	'ear'
	/ø:/ ~ /ø/	: *tőr* 'dagger',	*tör*	'break'
back vowels	/u:/ ~ /u/	: *zúg* 'rumble',	*zug*	'nook'
	/o:/ ~ /o/	: *kór* 'disease',	*kor*	'age'

Ony lip posìtion (rounded-unrounded) distinguishes the following vowels:

/i:/ ~ /y:/	: *tíz* 'ten' ~	*tűz*	'fire'
/i/ ~ /y/	: *itt* 'here' ~	*üt*	'he strikes'
/e:/ ~ /ø:/	: *bér* 'wages' ~	*bőr*	'leather'

It is only in the case of half-open and open vowels that these quantitative differences are reinforced by qualitative differences: *e* [ɛ] as in *fel* 'up', is slightly more open than *é* [e:] as in *fél* 'he fears'; similarly *á* [a:] as in *hát* is slightly more open than *a* [ɑ], as in *hat* 'six'.

In both varieties of English, however, the qualitative difference is crucial in all cases. Herein lies the difficulty for Hungarian learners in pronouncing and perceiving the correct English vowels. Let us now compare the distinctive sounds of Hungarian[9], on the one hand and both varieties of English[10] on the other.

H	E
/i:/ ~ /i/	/i/ ~ /ɪ/
szín 'color' ~ *szid* 'scold'	*seed* ~ *sit*

H long /i:/ roughly corresponds phonetically to E /i:/. However it is distinguished from H short /i/ only by length. Thus Hungarian learners of English tend to substitute length for the aperture feature distinguishing E /ɪ:/ and /ɪ/.

The results do not correspond to the E sound, for which the tongue must be lowered and retracted.

H	E
/ɛ/	/ɛ/ ~ /æ/
szed 'gather'	*said* ~ *sad*

[8] The phonetic symbols for the H phonemes are those used in the work of Molnár,J.(1970).

[9] Henceforth H.

[10] Henceforth E.

Hungarians usually have difficulty in distinguishing E /e/ and /æ/ since they have only one half-open front vowel, near Cardinal [ɛ]. However in certain regions in Hungary a similar distinction is made: *ëszünk* 'we are eating' versus *eszünk* 'our brain', *nëm* 'no' versus *nem* 'sex'. In both pairs the first sound is more close and can be used for E /e/, while the second, if made slightly more open, will correspond to E /æ/. In Standard Hungarian, however this distinction is absent, so the only starting point for H learners can be the one H half-open front vowel /ɛ/, which is modified by raising the tongue to a nearly half-close position for E /e/, and by lowering the tongue to a position between half-open and open for E /æ/.

H	E
/a:/ ~ /ɑ:/	/ɑ/
hát 'back' ~ *hat* 'six'	*heart*

H /a:/ is an open central sound pronounced with spread lips and jaws wide apart, the back of the tongue lying flat in the mouth, the tip of the tongue touching the lower tooth-ridge. For H /ɑ/ the lips are open-rounded, the jaws wide apart, the back of the tongue slightly humped, the tip of the tongue not touching the lower tooth-ridge. Neither of these sounds is an acceptable substitute for E /ɑ:/, but either can serve as a starting point. When starting from H /a:/ the tongue must be lowered and retracted; when starting from H /ɑ/, the tongue must be considerably lowered, the lips rounded and the sound lengthened.

H *hát*

E *heart*

H *hat*

H	E
/u:/ ~ /u/	/u:/ ~ /ʊ/
zúg 'roar' ~ *zug* 'nook'	*pool* ~ *pull*

H long /u:/ is a close back vowel pronounced with closely rounded, pursed lips, the back of the tongue hunched up, and the tip of the tongue gradually withdrawn from the lower teeth. H short /u/ differs only in length from H long /u:/. E long /u:/, although also a close back vowel, is somewhat advanced from a true back position, and the lips are closely rounded. It is usually diphthongized [ʊu], especially in final position: *do, shoe.* E short /ʊ/ is pronounced with a back-central part of the tongue raised above the half-close position. The lips are closely but loosely rounded. Thus while H long /u:/ is generally acceptable as E /u:/ if not articulated too far back, H short /u/ is

an inadequate substitute for E /u/ because it is too close and too tense. Starting from H short /u/ the tongue must be lowered and centralized to produce E /u/.

H *túl* 'too' = E *tool* H *fut* 'he runs' ≠ E *foot*
H *nyúz* 'flay' = E *news* H *puszi* 'kiss' ≠ E *pussy*

H	E
/o:/	/ɔ:/
ló 'horse'	*law*

for H /o:/ the back of the tongue is raised to a half-close position, the jaws are half closed, the lips are closely rounded. For E /ɔ:/ the back of the tongue is raised to a half-open position, the jaws are fairly wide apart the lips are openrounded. Starting from H /o:/ the tongue should be lowered and the lip-rounding decreased to produce the E sound.

H *ló* 'horse', *só* 'salt', *ró* 'score' ≠ E *law, Shaw, raw*

H			E	
/t,d; s,z; f,v; ––/			/t,d; s,z; f,v; θ,ð/	
tél 'winter'	*dél*	'noon'	*tie*	*die*
szár 'stalk'	*zár*	'lock'	*sue*	*zoo*
fél 'half'	*vél*	'think'	*fine*	*vine*
			ether	*either*

The interdental fricatives /θ,ð/ have no counterparts in H. H learners of E most frequently replace these phonemes either by the stops /t,d/, which have a similar place of articulation and share the same articulator, (the apex of the tongue), or the labio-dental fricatives /f,v/ which share their place of articulation (the teeth) and their fricative character, or the fricatives /s,z/ which share their articulator, their place of articulation, and their manner of articulation (fricativity), or the affricates /ts, dz/ which share their articulator, and their place of articulation.

The production of the new sounds can easily be taught: the tip and rim of the tongue make light contact with the edge and inner surface of the incisors and firmer contact with the upper side teeth, the air escaping between the tongue and the incisors. At the initial stage of learning the tip of the tongue should protrude between the teeth to prevent the use of any of the above-mentioned substitutes.

3.2. Distinctive feature in E with phonetic overlap in H.

H	E	
/n/	/n/	/ŋ/
szín 'colour'	*sin*	*sing*

Although the velar nasal [ŋ] occurs in both languages, in E it represents a separate phoneme /ŋ/, standing in opposition to /n/ while in H it is a positional variant of /n/ occurring before the velar stops /k/ and /g/, as in the case of *rohan* [rohɒn] 'he runs' when followed by the suffix *–gál: rohangál* [rohɒŋga:l] ' he is running about'.

H	E	
/w/	/w/	
autó 'automobile'	*win*	*twin*

The distributional range of the /w/ phoneme in E, and its textual and lexical frequency, are much greater than in H, since in H its occurrence is confined to postvocalic position in a limited number of words of foreign origin: *autó, augusztus, Európa, eulógia,* etc., whereas in E it can occur prevocalically: *way, why, one,* post-consonantally : *twelve, swim, dwarf,* intervocalically: *away, aware,* and sometimes at a point of vowel juncture where the first vowel is /u:/ or a diphthong ending in /ʊ/ : *doing, following, our.*

Hungarian learners tend to substitute /v/ for /w/ in positions where this sound does not occur in H.

E
/l̩, m̩, n̩/

The lateral liquid and the three nasals all occur in both languages (although, as noted above, the velar nasal is only a variant of /n/ in H). However, these consonants occur in syllabic function in E after stops and certain fricatives, but not in H. Examples of such syllabics are: *mutton* /mʌtn̩/, *sudden* /sʌdn̩/, *happen* /hæpm̩/, *little* /lɪtl̩/, *table* /teɪbl̩/. Thus Hungarian students tend to either insert a vowel between the two consonants as in /mʌtən/, /lɪtəl/, or, less frequently, add a vowel after the nasal or lateral as in /lɪtlɪ/, /teɪblɪ/. In the best case they may form a cluster, but also with non-syllabic final consonant replacing the E syllabic.

3.1.3. Redundant (phonetic) features present in E, absent in H.

H		E
[l]		[ɬ]
film	'motion picture'	*film*
fél	'half'	*fail*

A velarized variant of /l/, i.e. /ɬ/, occurs in post-vocalic position in E, as for example in: *feel, people, milk.* This contextual variant does not occur in H. Hungarian learners most frequently substitute a clear [l] for this variant, but also occasionally substitute an /u/, attempting to reproduce the velar quality of the lateral. Students can often be helped to acquire this sound if they are instructed to pronounce [l] simultaneously with /u/ in such words.

H		E
[p, t, k]		[pʻ, tʻ, kʻ]
pép	'pulp'	*pin*
tét	'stake'	*tin*
kék	'blue'	*kin*

E fortis stops are aspirated before a stressed vowel initially and medially. Aspiration is optional in final position. In H no aspirated variant occurs. Thus Hungarians tend to substitute unaspirated voiceless stops for these E aspirated variants. A useful device for illustrating aspiration is for the teacher to hold a piece of paper in front of his mouth while pronouncing these sounds: the plosion will cause the paper to move, while production of the unaspirated phone will have no effect.

H	E
voiceless – voiced	fortis – lenis

It is usually stated in the literature that E homorganic fricative and stop pairs are opposed through the fortis – lenis opposition, while in H such pairs are opposed through voicing. Since E speakers often devoice lenis consonants in final position, H speakers tend to interpret such consonants as fortis: *heed* /hi:d̥/ may be interpreted as *heat* /hi:t/, *seed* /si:d̥/ as *seat* /si:t/. However, the relative rarity of such misinterpretation suggest that the fortis – lenis and voiceless – voiced oppositions may be more similar in character than is generally supposed.[10]

H	E
[t̬, d̬, n̬, l̬]	[t̬, d̬, n̬, l̬]

[11] See Nemser (1971).

In E the apical stops, as well as the nasal /n/ and the lateral /l/, are normally alveolar: *time, dime, nine, line,* although dental variants occur as well: *eighth, width, not that, anthem.* In H, on the other hand, the apical stops, the nasal /n/, and the lateral /l/ are normally dental: *tíz* 'ten', *dísz* 'ornament', *nesz* 'noise', *lesz* 'will be'. As a result Hungarian learners of E frequently dentalize the E apico-alveolar consonants. Such interference can normally be corrected by articulatory directions.

Length is a distinctive feature in H, as we have already noted, but is considered redundant in E, where variation of vowel length is said to be determined by environment; E vowels are longest when final, also long before a lenis consonant, but short when followed by a fortis consonant: *bee, bead, beat; see, seed, seat; bag, back.* No comparable automatic variation of length exists in H. However in E the lengthened vowel helps to identify a following lenis consonant which, as noted above, is sometimes devoiced in final position, and in case of a plosive, sometimes pronounced with inaudible release: *ride* [raɪːd̥] – *write* [raɪt̚]. While Hungarian will not in general commit overt errors in production of these E variants, they will tend to overdifferentiate them, treating length as distinctive: *bead – beat* would be heard as H long í (iː) and short i /i/.

	H	E
lexical:		ˈbillow ~ ˈbelow
		ˈinsult (n) ~ inˈsult (v)
grammatical:	*aˈcél* ˈthe aimˈ ~	*ˈacél* ˈsteelˈ
	egyˈház ˈa houseˈ ~	*ˈegyház* ˈChurchˈ

The stress pattern of E words is *fixed*, in the sense that the primary stress always falls on a particular syllable of a given word in its lexical pronunciation, i.e. when pronounced in isolation. (This may undergo certain modifications in connected speech.) However, this pattern is *free*, in the sense that it is not tied to any particular syllable in the chain of syllables constituting a word. In some cases E words may be distinguished by stress only, as in the above examples. Thus E stress may have *distinctive* function.

In H primary stress always falls on the first syllable of the word; therefore it marks the beginning of a new word in connected speech. Thus its function is demarcative, i.e. grammatical. Because of this difference in the stress systems, Hungarians often misplace the stress of E words. H learners of E must be taught to attach as much importance to correct stress as to other aspects of correct pronunciation. Otherwise they risk being misunderstood.

At this point we must make a decision as to whether to teach BE or AE. Different difficulties will arise for the H learner according to the type of E he has chosen.

3.2 Features specific to BE and AE

	BE	AE
Stop	/ɒ/	/ɑ/

BE /ɒ/ is much opener than H /ɑ/ in *hat* and has more lip-rounding, the jaws are wider apart. The H sound can serve as a starting point, then the tongue should be lowered and lip-rounding added. It is one of the most difficult vowels for H learners.
H *hat* ≠ E *hot*

AE /ɑ/ is between H *a* /ɑ:/ as in *hát* and H /ɑ/ as in *hat*. H *a* /ɑ:/ can serve as a starting point, but should be shortened. It seems to be more easily acquired by H learners, than BE /ɒ/ perhaps because of its unrounded quality, which brings it nearer to the H sound.
H *kád* ≠ AE *cod*

BE	AE
/r/	/r/

Hungarian /r/ is a rolled sound formed by a rapid succession of taps of the tip of the tongue against the teethridge (alveoli). The tongue is held loosely and the airstream causes the tip to vibrate.

For intervocalic flapped [ɾ] the tongue position is the same as for H /r/. Learners should be careful not to use more than one tap.
For the frictionless continuant [ɹ] it is better to start from /ʒ/, articulate weakly, and keep the tip of the tongue more removed from the palate than for a fricative.
Distributional problems arise with BE as *r* is not pronounced finally and before consonants, though marked in spelling.
Before consonants a new sound has to be learned /ɜ:/ which is a central vowel pronounced with spread lips. Hungarians usually ő /ø/ or /œ/ for it, which are unacceptable because of having lip-rounding and being a front

For the retroflected AE /ɾ/ the H rolled /r/ is an unacceptable substitute. It is better to start from a weakly articulated /ʒ/ with the tip of the tongue curled back and removed from the palate, so as to let the airstream pass through. The syllabic /ɻ/ or r-coloured vowel constitutes a double problem: the new sound itself and its unfamiliar syllabic function. It is a vowel made while the tongue is retroflected for the position of /ɾ/, as in *word, fur, term, firm, earn,* /wɻd/, /fɻ/, /tɻm/, /fɻm/, /ɻn/. Besides stressed syllables, it occurs also in unstressed syllables, as in *father,* /ˈfɑ:ðɻ/ *better* /ˈbetɻ/, *further* /ˈfɻðɻ/.

vowel. First lips must be unrounded and spread, then the sound must be centralized.

BE
/əʊ/

The central starting point between half close and half open has to be learnt by Hungarians, as this neutral sound does not exist in H. It is usually replaced by *ő* /ø/ which is a front vowel with liprounding. Learners should also be careful of the open and centralized quality of /ʊ/. H short /ʊ/ is an inadequate substitute.

AE
/oʊ/

The starting point for this diphthong is much closer to the H /o/ sound. The tongue should be lowered and less lip-rounding used. The second element is the same as in the BE variety. In H dialectal speech a similar diphthong exists, *ajtó* /ɑjtou/ *bolt* /bout/. But both elements are more close.

AE
/ɨ/

/ɨ/ is a sound of AE, often occurring, for example, in the *es* plural variant: *dishes. beaches.* If the short, open /ɪ/ has been acquired, it can serve as a starting point for this more centralized sound.

[P,T,K]

The H learner should be able to identify the lenis variant of /p,t,k/, but he need not acquire their pronunciation.

Stress

BE

The use of the many reduced vowels and elided sounds make comprehension difficult for H learners. Much ear-training is required to overcome this difficulty.

AE

The retention of secondary stress seems more natural to H ears than the elided BE forms, and makes comprehension easier.

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Interrogative sentences in English: A language-teaching problem for Hungarians

Ádám Nádasdy

Both in English and in Hungarian, interrogative sentences can be subdivided into two groups, viz. total („Yes-No") questions and partial („Question-word") questions. In the English language, there is a fundamental similarity between these two types; therefore, they are traditionally taught together under the single heading „Questions". The aim of the present paper is to point out that because in Hungarian partial questions differ basically from total questions, when we teach English to Hungarians, these two types should be dealt with separately.

English Yes-No questions are usually doubly marked: by word order and by intonation.[1] When the verbal expression consists of more than one word, Yes-No question word order is obtained by simple inversion: the first of these words is placed before the subject phrase:

	The boys are	walking.
ARE	the boys	walking?
	The boys have been walking.	
HAVE	the boys	been walking? etc.

In the case of one-word verbal expressions – apart from *be* and *have* which are special cases and must be treated separately – the problem is less clear. In such sentences, the use of the forms of *do* has been traditionally treated like a morphological process by language teachers, as if *Do I work?*, *Do you work?* etc. were members of the morphological paradigm of the verb *work; do* represented, it was said, the introduction of an interrogative morpheme, and the rules were formulated thus: in the Simple Present, questions are formed with the Simple Present of *do (- do/does);* in the Simple Past, questions are formed with the Simple Past of *do (- did).* That is, two separate rules were involved.

It seems more practical, however, to adopt a concept (originating with Chomsky[2]) according to which every English sentence contains an element „Aux", the surface exponents of which occur before and/or after the main

[1] The target language system described here is based on British English; a somewhat different analysis might hold for American English because of differences in intonational patterns.

[2] Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, 'S-Gravenhage, 1957.

verb in the form of auxiliary verbs and suffixes respectively. The main verb is flanked, as it were, by these two „slots" which may be empty but which are nevertheless present and into which the notional verb itself can never be fitted. Since suffixation is an operation familiar to Hungarians, Hungarian learners of English experience greater difficulties with the pre-verbal element. Therefore, even in a sentence like *The boys walk*, teachers of English to Hungarians should bear in mind that the overt form of the sentence contains a covert element as well; in other words, there is not only a zero suffix after the verb but also a zero auxiliary verb before it. This notion can be converted into classroom practice, in the tabulation of verbal paradigms, by listing the main verb *walk* of sentence 4 under *walking/walked/walk* rather than under *are/have/can:*

1. The boys are walking.
2. The boys have walked.
3. The boys can walk.
4. The boys walk.

This format leads the student to infer that, as he may put it, something is missing from the overt form of the sentence *The boys walk*, the very element that must be placed before the subject when making the sentence interrogative. Next, a practical rule will be taught which states that when we have a one-word verb form, there is nothing to be placed before the subject (i.e. when the declarative sentence contains no manifest Aux to be placed before the subject in interrogation – the case for both the Simple Present and the Simple Past, treated as two different structures by traditional text-books!) so the appropriate form of *do* is used. „Appropriate" here refers to the choice of the *-s* or *-ed* ending affixed to the verb (the resulting forms are *does, did*). This analysis brings the patterning of the simple forms of the verbs into conformity with those of other verbal constructions, making separate treatment unnecessary. Once the rule has been formulated, the teaching need concentrate mainly on distributional problems: the internal distribution of the three *do*-forms, and the distribution of *do*-forms contrasted to other auxiliaries.

Hungarian total (Yes-No) questions have no word-order restriction which distinguishes them from affirmative sentences, though there is a tendency to move the verb to initial position in the sentence. The only distinguishing feature of Hungarian Yes-No questions is their intonation pattern, which is either rising-falling or rising, depending on the length of the sentence, emphasis and other factors.[3] This intonation pattern, unlike

[3] Cf. I. Fónagy–K. Magdics, *A magyar beszéd dallama*, Budapest, 1967.

the rising intonation in English Yes-No questions, is obligatory.[4] The persistence of intonational transfer by Hungarian learners of English can be explained by this non-redundancy in Hungarian, as well as by the fact that the average learner is not conscious of the existence and form of intonational patterns, i.e. the „out-of-awareness" character of these patterns by contrast with segmental phonological and grammatical elements (roots, affixes).[5] Experience indicates that in the process of learning Yes-No questions, the Hungarian student of English normally ignores intonation and projects the unmarked (non-distinctive) word order of Hungarian total questions on the marked (distinctive) word-order of English total questions. Despite fundamental differences, there is very little overt word-order interference. An exception is a tendency to bring the notional verb itself before the subject: ✯*Walk the boys?* [6]. This error may be due to one or more of three factors - a) the above-mentioned similar tendency of Hungarian to place the verbal element in initial position in Yes-No questions; b) false analogy with auxiliary inversion *(Will the boys walk?);* and c) the influence of German sentences of the *Spazieren die Buben?* type.[7]

When teaching English total questions, then, Hungarian teachers of English should concentrate not on what is to be put before the subject, but rather on what must *not* be put there: the notional verb itself. The student must be taught to conform to that fundamental rule of English which requires the notional verb always to follow the subject.[8] Communication suffers less if the *do*-forms are not used correctly (✯*Do John like Mary?*), or not used at all (✯*John likes Mary?*) than if the rigid *subject – notional verb* order is violated (✯*Likes John Mary?*). Only when the student has learned this pattern can teaching proceed to partial (Question-word) questions.

English partial questions do not differ basically from total questions: the question word or phrase is followed by the same word order we have seen in total questions (unless it replaces the subject):

[4]There are other ways of forming total questions in Hungarian (with the word *ugye* or the suffix *-e* rather than intonational change) but these are marginal enough to cause little or no interference.

[5]Intonational interference in English total questions does not usually cause confusion because of their unabiguous word order, though the rise-fall pattern sometimes does.

[6]All starred examples are attested in the author's experience, at least as types.

[7]A large proportion of Hungarian learners of English (especially adults) have some prior knowledge of German.

[8]The language model taught at this stage is itself an approximative system of English (see fn. 1, p. 5): it does not include forms like *In came my friend.*

The boys are	walking in the street.
Are the boys	walking in the street?
WHERE are the boys	walking?

We have observed that English Yes-No questions have double markedness: word order and intonation. Two characterizing features suffice in Question-word questions too, viz. the question-word and the word order. Intonation thus becomes a redundant third feature and Question-word questions revert to unmarked (falling) intonation.

We have seen that Hungarian total questions, unlike their English counterparts, are only marked distinctively by intonation. Hungarian partial questions, like their English counterparts, have both Question-word and word-order marking. The word-order rule of Hungarian partial questions requires that the question word (or corresponding nominal phrase) be immediately followed by the verb or, more precisely, the finite element of the verbal expression.[9]

A barátod tegnap *hova ment?*
Tegnap *hova ment* a barátod?
Tegnap a barátod *hova ment?*
Hova ment tegnap a barátod? „Where did your friend go yesterday?"
A barátod *hova ment* tegnap?
Hova ment a barátod tegnap?

That is, the word order marker of Hungarian Question-word questions is the sequence *interrogative noun phrase-finite verb* which as a unit can „float" anywhere in the sentence:[10]

(X) + inter + V + (Y)

where X and Y indicate the rest of the interrogative sentence.

Whereas in the case of the word order of total questions it could be said, based on the aforementioned considerations, that an unmarked base-language feature is opposed to a marked target-language feature (word order), in the

[9]The importance of this rule (the „Fogarasi rule") seems to be far too little recognized in textbooks for acquisition in either direction, e.g; see, for example, the comment „Aucun ordre des mots spécial ne caractérise la phrase interrogative hongroise" (Aurélien Sauvageot, *Premier livre de hongrois*, Paris, 1965, p. 119).

[10]This is dependent on a more general rule in Hungarian, that of emphasis, which also covers negatives etc Cf. Ferenc Kiefer, *On Emphasis and Word Order in Hungarian*, Bloomington, 1967.

case of the Wh-questions the strict word order marking of Hungarian opposes the equally strict, but practically contradictory rule of English. Let us examine the practical implications of this.

The learner, quite naturally and logically, assumes that Hungarian question-words or phrases correspond to English equivalents:

Hol...?
Where...?

Thus, after he has pronounced or written an English question-word or phrase, he tends, prompted by his base language system, to pronounce or write the verb itself:

Hol sétálnak a fiúk?
⋆Where walk the boys?

This is the clearest representation of native-language transfer in the use of interrogatives. However, ⋆*Where walk the boys?* is a less frequent error than the intermediate form ⋆*Where do walk the boys?* . The latter is the manifestation of an approximative system:[11] the student has learnt to use *do* when forming questions in the Simple Present, without understanding that it is not some semantic feature inherent in the Simple Present which requires *do*, as the student is led to infer from traditional approaches to the teaching of English tenses. He must, on the contrary, be shown that, since the verb form consists of only one word, with no manifest element filling the Aux slot, and because of the word-order rule cited which prohibits the inversion of the subject and the notional verb, the utilization of *do* as a carrier for inflections is required.

This is why, when we teach English Yes-No questions to Hungarians, we must emphasize that (from the learner's point of view) the *do*-forms are inverted *in place of* the notional verb as carriers of the inflection; consequently, *do*-forms and notional verbs can never stand in juxtaposition in the restricted English system which acts as target language at the initial stages of teaching because this would mean no inversion whatsoever.[12] If this is not made clear to the student who knows that the auxiliary *do* must be used with the verb, he will use it immediately before the verb where all other auxiliaries occur. Consequently, he will tend to translate such sentences as *Hol sétálnak a fiúk?* ('Where do the boys walk? ') as ⋆*Where do walk the boys?* , or *Kit szeret Mari?* ('Who does Mary love? ') as ⋆*Who does love Mary?*

[11] William Nemser, „Approximative systems of foreign language learners." *IRAL*, 1971, 9.2. 115–124.

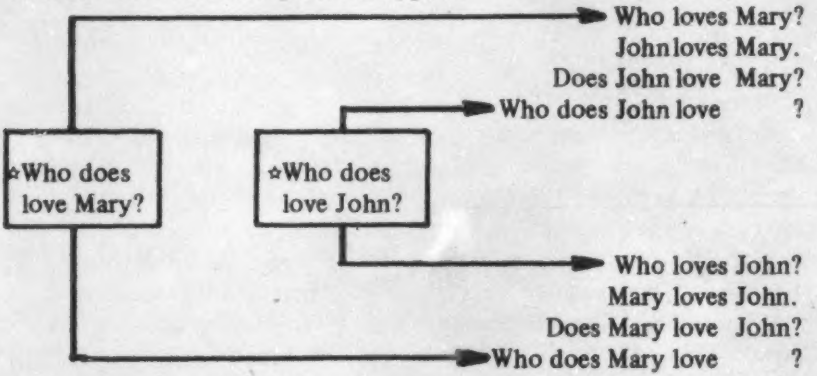
[12] This excludes the emphatic use of *do*, e.g. *He did say so!* etc. (see fn. 4, p. 3).

In the other type of English partial questions, where the question-word replaces the subject or part of the subject, a contrastive prediction based on a simple projection from the base language would forecast no interference, for in both languages the question-word or phrase is followed by the verb in such sentences:

Ki szereti Marit?
Who loves Mary?

The student, however, knowing that he is forming a question, and in light of his prior experience with the target language, feels compelled to use *do*. Thus the sentence *Ki szereti Marit?* ('Who loves Mary? ') becomes ☆*Who does love Mary?*. Now, a glance at the end of the previous paragraph will show how confusing this is from the point of view of communication: the student is trying to represent two completely different deep structures with the same sentence ☆*Who does love Mary?*, i.e. that represented in English by *Who loves Mary? (=Ki szereti Marit?)* as well as that represented by *Who does Mary love? (=Kit szeret Mari?)*.

The following is a representation of the system of English questions. From the statement *John loves Mary* three basic types of questions can be formed. In the diagram below, I have placed the simplest of these, the one in which the question-word replaces the subject without any change in word order, above the statement to illustrate that the fundamental division between the two word-order types in English separates the *subject-question / statement* block and the *total question / partial question* block respectively. Similarly we find a parallel representation of the sentence *Mary loves John* with its three derivable question types:



The diagram shows how the four different English „Who"-questions *Who loves Mary?*, *Who does Mary love?*, *Who does John love?*, and *Who*

loves John? are replaced in the learner's approximative system by two: ☆*Who does love Mary?* and ☆*Who does love John?*. Note that the members of the two 3-sentence groups connected by arrows are viewed as identical, or mere stylistic variants, by the average Hungarian learner while formally identical variants with contrasting meanings will be regarded as homophonous forms.

Students must be taught that in English the difference between subject and object is almost exclusively marked by word order; the words functioning as subject and object have, except for a few personal pronouns, no morphological marking. Therefore the word *whom* (nearly extinct in the spoken language anyway[13]) should be rigorously suppressed at the initial stages in the teaching of English to Hungarians. The word only misleads the student, inducing him to set up an even more erroneous approximative system which appeals to him because it is morphologically marked like Hungarian, Russian or German:

Ki szereti Marit?	:	Ki*t* szeret Mari?
Wer liebt Marie?	:	Wen liebt Marie?
Who loves Mary?	:	☆Who*m* loves Mary?

Let us now compare the statement *John loves Mary*, and the three basic question types derived from it, with their Hungarian equivalents. The following table shows that the transitions between sentences with interrogative (Q) and non-interrogative (S or ϕ) word order occur at different points, the English grouping being 1, 2 – 3, 4, but the Hungarian grouping 1 – 2, 3 – 4.

1 S	Who loves Mary?	Q Ki szereti Marit?
2 S	John loves Mary.	ϕ János szereti Marit. etc.
3 Q	Does John love Mary?	ϕ János szereti Marit? etc.
4 Q	Who does John love ?	Q Kit szeret János?

where Q – fixed word order patterns in each language as a signal for interrogation
S – statement word-order
ϕ – no special pattern; the sentence cited is one of many possible permutations

In English, Q is opposed to another special pattern (S); Q is optional (=distinctive). In Hungarian, Q is obligatory (=non-distinctive), and it is opposed to nothing (ϕ). As we have noted, the English type most difficult

[13] W. Stannard Allen, *Living English Structure*, London, 1961, p. 211.

for Hungarian learners is that of line 4 because in the patterns of this line both languages display their Q feature.

The traditional algorithm for teaching these sentence patterns, based on the target language only, starts with type 2 and concentrates on the switch from this to type 3. Type 4 is not mentioned explicitly as, from the English point of view, it is a mere lexical extension of type 3. Then type 1 is taught as an exception to the inversion rule. Taking transfer into consideration, however, the strategy could be the following: having started with type 2 (the declarative), type 1 is obtained by mere lexical substitution, with facilitation rather than interference from Hungarian. Then type 3 is taught, auxiliary inversion and the use of the *do*-forms is explained and practised; but here the student still does not encounter real difficulty because auxiliary inversion is familiar in Hungarian and *do* is not paralleled by anything. It is the last step, the forming of type 4 sentences which constitutes the real problem for here the strict Hungarian word order rule causes serious interference.

A Contrastive Analysis of English and Hungarian Textbooks of English

Éva A. Stephanides

Introduction.

This study contrasts the pedagogically graded presentation of English grammar in both English and Hungarian textbooks on English.

Section 1 contains general description of the textbooks analyzed, indicating differences between the works written by English and Hungarian authors, and changes in the design of the books during the last twenty-five years. All the texts are analyzed from the points of view of methodological approach and linguistic content (i.e. structural coverage). Section 2 compares the presentation of English phonology, including intonation, in English and Hungarian texts. Section 3 deals with English nominal categories and Section 4 with verbal categories. The order of presentation of English tenses and aspects is described in some detail through statistical techniques.[1] The treatment of sentence word-order, clauses, gerunds, and participles is discussed in Section 5.

Space limitations precluded analysis of approximately 40 volumes (see Bibliography). The books analyzed can be roughly divided into two groups: textbooks for non-English speakers in general, written by English authors, and those written for and by Hungarians. The majority were published between 1946–1970; a few, to be published in the near future, were examined in manuscript form.

The textbooks written by English authors for non-English speakers were intended to serve the needs of both adult and secondary school students, while the majority of the Hungarian textbooks were designed only for secondary school pupils. A few books for an adult audience have been published in Hungary, e.g. Báti–Véges (1957) and Tarján–Korenchy (1965).

1.1. Perhaps the most striking general characteristic of textbooks on English published during the last twenty-five years is the evolution in methodological approach. However, there are only slight differences in the presentation of grammar between books written for non-English speakers in general, and those written specifically for Hungarians. The main reason is probably the fact that the well-known English textbooks served as models for Hungarian textbook writers, who usually made special allowance for the demands of the Hungarian school curriculum. Nevertheless comparison of the two types of textbooks suggests that English course developers approach grammatical phenomena

[1] These techniques were employed with the help of Dr. Ferenc Nagy.

primarily from the point of view of their own mother tongue since these books are written for speakers from a variety of language backgrounds. On the other hand, Hungarian textbook writers often take into account special characteristics of the Hungarian language as well, at least as regards certain grammatical phenomena, utilizing a „contrastive" approach, although not always consistently, in developing their texts.

1.2.1. Analysis of these works from a methodological point of view reveals that in earlier works there is a tendency to present entire grammatical structures, such as the Present Perfect verbal construction or Indirect Speech, in totality within a single unit. On the other hand, more recent texts deal recurrently with the same structures in the course of several lessons, gradually introducing new details while re-introducing aspects presented earlier. An example of the earlier approach is C. E. Eckersley 's *Essential English for Foreign Students* (1945); an example of the later approach is L. G. Alexander's *New Concept of English* (1967).

1.2.2. Similarly, earlier books strictly separate the section of the text introducing new grammatical elements from grammatical explanations and rules. The latter are often presented, as some contemporary teachers might feel, in over-detailed and over-inclusive form (see the cited volume by Eckersley and also Báti–Véges *Textbook for Adult Learners,* 1957). More recent books, however, introduce new grammatical problems in stages and illustrate new grammatical elements by means of examples and pattern drills, often without grammatical explanation, relying principally on the so-called „inductive approach," as for example in L. G. Alexander's *New Concept of English* (1967) and G. Broughton's *Success with English* (1970). Between these extremes transitional works can be found. Examples are the patterns and situational units in A. S. Hornby's *Progressive English for Adult Learners* (1959–1962); the introductory examples followed by texts utilizing the new elements in D. Hicks's *Foundations of English* (1965–1966); the syntactical patterns with grammatical summaries in E. F. Candlin's *Present-day English for Foreign Students* (1966–1968).

1.2.3. The most striking characteristic of the Hungarian texts as a whole is that while in the earlier books all explanations and directions are presented in Hungarian, i.e. in the mother tongue of the learner, the later ones tend to use only the target language in discussing the linguistic properties of that language. While, in contrast to the earlier works in which grammatical explanations are used extensively, grammar is inductively presented in the newer works, and introduced in logical implements, through the use of

patterns. Sometimes only basic aspects of the new element are dealt with, as in such works as L. Budai and L. Jakabfi, *Angol Nyelvkönyv* I–IV (1967–1968), a series of books currently used in non-intensive secondary school courses.

2.1. As early as the first lessons of a textbook for beginners, all levels of language obviously must be considered. For example attention must be paid to phonological differences between the two languages when the basic vocabulary of the target language is introduced: use of words required by the learning situtation implies mastery of the pronunciation problems they entail. For example the English interrogative and demonstrative pronouns, *what, where, this, that, these* and *those,* contain phonemes, (ω,ð , θ), unknown or marginal in the Hungarian phonemic system. Among both English and Hungarian textbooks, only one, Gy. Horlay's *Pick Pocket English* (in press), specifically seeks to avoid the concurrent presentation of difficult grammatical and phonological problems: certain personal pronouns like *I, you,* and *it,* which do not cause any difficulty in pronunciation for Hungarian learners, are introduced before the demonstratives and interrogatives.

2.2.0. Another characteristic common to the English and Hungarian textbooks is a relative neglect of intonation, a most difficult as well as a most significant feature of spoken language. Therefore the significant difference between the role of intonation in English, where word-order is distinctive, and its grammatical role in Hungarian with „free" word-order, is not considered.

2.2.1. The earlier English books do not deal with the teaching of intonation at all or only touch upon the problem. For example Eckersley (1945) considers only the two main tag-question intonation types. The case is different with books accompanied by tapes (e.g. Candlin, Alexander) in that the recordings at least offer examples of principal intonation patterns. But no transcriptions of these patterns are included in the written texts. An exception is Hornby's work, which systematically presents, and offers practice in the intonation patterns of simple, compound and complex sentences, clauses, questions and emphatic sentences.

2.2.2. The case of the Hungarian textbooks is slightly different in that some of them do introduce the basic intonation patterns. However, there are no drills or dialogues offering practice in their using.

3.0 Since knowledge of certain nominal categories, such as plurality, possession, comparison, and determination, is normally required in order to

state the relationship of the speaker of his surroundings, these categories are necessarily introduced early in all texts both English and Hungarian. The expression of this relationship also requires the use of deictic elements such as *here-there, this-that* as well as such pronouns as *I-you, mine-yours,* etc.

4.0. The ability to indicate past, present and future time relations at the earliest stages of language learning is also essential leaving the indication of more exact distinctions for a later stage of study. Mastery of the aspectual and tense systems of English constitutes a major problem for Hungarian learners of English. The problem has been approached pedagogically in various ways.

4.1.1. In their morphology the acquisition of the Simple Present and Simple Past seem to pose few formal problems since (at least in regular forms) they require only the addition phonologically determined alternants of the suffixes *s* and *ed,* to the verbal stem. However, in the negative and interrogative, new elements appear: *do, does; did.* Thus verbal constructions like the Simple Future and the Present Continuous, where only verbal elements already present are utilized in the negative and interrogative are in actuality easier for Hungarian learners. The sequences in which the various tenses and aspects are presented in the textbooks examined offer an interesting picture. In ten of the twelve books for beginners, the Present Continuous Tense is introduced first, apparently because it was felt that this tense offered no special difficulty in the interrogative and negative transformations and also because its use can be easily illustrated in the teaching situation. Only two Hungarian textbooks introduce forms of the Simple Present first, following older traditions (see Table 1).

4.1.2. The textbooks introduce the structure *going to,* referring to the future, at different stages (see Table 1). When it is introduced simultaneously with, or immediately after, the present tenses, the Simple Future is not introduced until the fifth stage, after the introduction of the Simple Past and sometimes after the Present Perfect, as well. However, when the structure *going to* is *not* taught with the present tenses, the Simple Future is introduced in the third stage following the present tenses, and preceding the past tenses.

4.1.3. The greatest differences in the distribution of the content of the texts can be found in the case of the Present Perfect construction. This construction is introduced in the second unit in Hornby's work, but not until the seventh unit in certain Hungarian textbooks (see Table 1).

	Simple Pr.	Pr. Cont.	Simple Past	Past Cont.	Simple Future	Going to	Fut. Cont.	Pr. Perf.	Pr. Perf. Cont.	Past Perf.	Past Perf. Cont.	Fut. Perf.	Fut. Past Cont.
Eckersley (1945)	2	1	4	8	3	3a	8	5	7	6	–	–	–
Eckersley (1955)	2	1	4	7	3	3a	8	5	–	6	–	9	–
Hornby (1954/56)	3	1	4	7	5	1a	10	2	6	8	–	–	–
Hicks (1956/58)	2	1	4	6	5	2a	10	3	8	7	9	11	–
Candlin (1961/63)	4	1	2	5	3	5a	9	6	8	7	8	–	–
Alexander (1967)	2	1	3	6	5	1a	8	4	10	7	12	9	11
Broughton (1970)	2	1	4	5	6	2a	10	3	7	8	4	11	11
Ruttkay (1953)	2*	1	4	3	5	–	–	7	8	6	–	–	–
Ruttkay (1956)	2*	1	4	3	5	8a	8	6	9	7	10	11	–
Budai, Jakabfi (1967/68)	2	1	3	4	5	2a	–	6	7	8	10	9	11
Báti, Véges (1957)	2	1	4	5	3	7a	10	7	8	6	9	11	12
Horlay (forthcoming)	3	1	2	4	5	2a	–	6	7	8	9	–	–

Table 1. Order of presentation of English verb forms in older and more recent Hungarian and English textbooks. Number indicate the stage or unit in which the tense is introduced. Asterisks indicate cases where certain forms of the Simple Present are introduced before or with the Present Continuous.

4.2.1. The relative distribution of the verbal elements in question within the - 12 texts can be described by means of the formula:

$$\bar{x} = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^{n} x_i$$

where $\bar{x}$ = the arithmatical average
n = the number of elements
i = a variable from *1* to *n*

The results are illustrated in Table 2.

	C	E	H		C	E	H
Simple Pr.	2,3	2,4	2,2	Pr. Perf.	5,0	4,0	6,4
Pr. Cont.	1,0	1,0	1,0	Pr. Perf. Cont.	7,7	7,6	7,8
Simple Past	3,5	3,57	3,4	Past Perf.	7,0	7,0	7,0
Past Cont.	5,2	6,2	3,8	Past Perf. Cont.	9,5	9,5	9,5
Simple Fut.	4,6	4,2	4,6	Fut. Perf.	10,1	10,0	10,3
Fut. Cont.	9,0	9,0	9,0	Fut. Perf. Cont.	11,25	11,0	11,5

Table 2. Relative distribution of verbal elements within textbooks. The combined distributions are indicated in column C, the distribution in English texts in column E, that in Hungarian texts in column H.

4.2.2. When applied to the figures indicating the order of presentation of verbal elements in the texts examined (see Table 1), the formula $r^{max} - r^{min}$, where r^{max} is the highest figure and r^{min} is the lowest, describes the range of variation in the presentation of these elements (see Table 3).

	C	E	H		C	E	H
Simple Pr.	2	2	1	Pr. Perf.	5	4	1
Pr. Cont.	0	0	0	Pr. Perf. Cont.	4	4	2
Simple Past	2	2	2	Past Perf.	2	2	2
Past Cont.	5	4	3	Past Perf Cont.	4	4	1
Simple Fut.	3	3	2	Fut. Perf.	2	2	2
Fut. Cont.	2	2	2	Fut. Perf Cont.	1	0	1

Table 3. Distributional variation of verbal elements within textbooks. Zero indicates instant distribution, 5 indicates maximally varied distribution.

For example the 0 value of the Present Continuous indicates that its place in the textbooks is constant: ($r^{max}=1$, $r^{min}=1$; $1-1=0$), i.e., it always occupies first position (see Table 1). The value is in the case of the Future Perfect Continuous, which is introduced only in a few books and always in the eleventh or twelfth position ($12-11=1$). But in the case of the Present Perfect and Past Perfect verbal constructions the value is 5 ($7-2=5$; $8-3=5$), so in these cases uncertainty in distribution is the greatest.

4.3.1. The order of presentation of verbal construction within a textbook clearly depends in part on the kinds of pedagogical devices employed. In texts making extensive use of dialogues, for example, the Present Perfect and the imperative must be emphasized and introduced at a relatively early stage. On the other hand in texts primarily utilizing narratives, the Simple Past, and indirect speech, will probably be presented earlier and given greater emphasis. One problem that arises is that the intrinsic difficulty of the element in question as a learning problem – its relative linguistic complexity – is frequently unconsidered. The pedagogic approach in turn often reflects the relative importance assigned to the various language skills as course objectives. Thus, for example, where reading skill is emphasized, narratives will be more frequently employed, but where speaking skill is primary, dialogues will play a more important role.

4.3.2. In analyzing problems in teaching the English Present Perfect construction, assertions of general validity for learners of all language backgrounds cannot be made. No counterpart for this construction exists in Hungarian where in similar contexts, either the Present or Past Tense is utilized, depending on the meaning to be conveyed. The Present Perfect presents a different type of difficulty to speakers of German and French in whose mother tongues the perfective aspect is found but with a function not completely coinciding with that of the Present Perfect in English. Therefore, when we contrast the textbooks written for foreigners in general with those designated specifically for Hungarian learners, the greatest difference can be found in the order of presentation of this verbal construction. As can be seen in Table 2 above, in the former group (i.e. textbooks for foreigners in general) the distribution index is 4, while in the latter (i.e. Hungarian textbooks) it is 6.4 which means that the Present Perfect is normally introduced in the first case in 4th position, while in the Hungarian works it is introduced in the 6th or even later units. That is, less frequent, but more easily mastered, verbal structures generally precede the Present Perfect in the Hungarian texts.

4.3.3. While we find no English works in which the Past Perfect is introduced before the Present Perfect, two of the Hungarian textbooks chose this order for methodological reasons. The same is true of the Past Continuous construction which, with one exception (the Candlin Text) follows the Present Perfect in all English texts apparently because English speakers do not consider the Past Continuous important enough to be introduced among the first verbal constructions. For Hungarians this structure offers little difficulty either from the formal or the semantic point of view. Therefore in the Hungarian texts it precedes other constructions offering greater difficulty.

5.0. Only certain general trends in the order of presentation of syntactic patterns can be dealt with here.

5.1.1. As is well-known, the case system of English has been levelled to the point where the function of cases has been largely assumed by word-order. The basic word-order of English is SVO with attributive and adverbial modifiers attached to the main elements. The Hungarian textbooks on English deal with the position of adverbs and adverbials in the sentence in relative detail while textbooks written by English authors do so to a lesser degree. Usually the introduction of English word-order rules cannot be considered adequately systematic although exceptions can be found. Examples of such exceptions include Báti–Véges *Textbook for Adults* (1957) in the case of adverbials, the third volume of Hicks' *New Foundations of English* (1968)

with its summary of word-order rules and the second volume of Alexander's *New Concept of English* (1967) where each of the four major units begins with questions of word-order.

5.1.2. Only a few textbooks analyzed dealt with such significant, if not basic, questions as word-order in emphatic sentences. In general an element receives greater emphasis when it is moved to initial position in an English sentence, as *Here is the book.* versus *The book is here.* Moreover this shift in the position of the modifier often entails a change in the basic word order of the sentence from SV(O) to VS(O), as in *So did he* and *Never in my life have I heard such a story.* However most of the texts omitted reference to these phenomena, although the use of the structure *it is* for emphatic purposes, as in *It was Thursday when he got married.*, is treated in all of them.

Stylistic change in word-order as in *Were I you . . .* versus *If I were you . . .*, were also ignored in all texts probably as appropriate for consideration only in textbooks for advanced learners.

5.2.1. Other syntactic problems are accorded varying degrees of importance and approach from a variety of methodological viewpoints. Nearly all the English texts introduce clauses of time, clauses of reason, and clauses of comparison in that order, and present attributive relative clauses at the same stage as compound sentences. However the Hungarian texts introduce clauses of comparison earlier than the other clause types.

Recent Hungarian textbooks characteristically introduce participial, infinitival and gerundial constructions earlier than clausal constructions and devote greater attention to them. This emphasis, which contrasts with that in the English texts, can be explained by reference to the fact that while the abridgement of clauses through the use of non-finite verbal construction is highly characteristic of English it is rare in Hungarian. This basic difference between the languages obviously implies major learning problems often reflected in the awkward substitution of clauses for the more appropriate abridged forms. Thus the detailed treatment of clause types is normally postponed until abridged-form patterns have been extensively practiced. The Hungarian approach is well illustrated in Z. Abádi–Nagy and Zs. Virágos (1971), a textbook currently used in intensive courses in the third form of secondary schools in Hungary: seven out of the twelve lessons in the book deal in detail with abridged clauses.[2]

[2]Of course this approach can sometimes lead to the hypercorrect over-extension of abridged clauses to contexts reserved for full clauses.

5.2.2. Although Hungarian teachers of English have found it necessary to place special emphasis on participial, infinitival and gerundial constructions, such emphasis is not characteristic either of earlier Hungarian textbooks on English or of most English texts. For example, although the first revised edition of C. E. Eckersley *Essential English for Foreign Students* (1945) introduces different types of sentences, subclauses and their conjunctions as early as the thirty-second lesson of the first volume in the four-volume series, and deals with them again in the third volume[3], it never focuses attention on clause abridgement. The Hungarian textbook series formerly used in non-intensive secondary school courses, Ruttkay and Korenchy (1956), introduces co-ordinate clauses in the second volume and subclauses in the third but without systematic attention to abridged clauses. Probably the most balanced, comprehensive and systematic treatment of verbal elements, including clauses and abridged constructions, is I. G. Alexander's *New Concept of English* (1967), where such elements are presented at graduated levels of complexity and in a manner designed to obviate the need for overt grammatical explanation.

[3]However, a revised edition of the work (1955) postpones the detailed introduction of different clause types until the third volume.

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